Daily Report

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Worldwide Affairs

Leaders Address Conference on Human Dimension

Yeltsin Extols 'Humanist Tradition'

LD1109155591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Speech by Boris Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Federation Socialist Republic president, at the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension in Moscow on 11 September—recorded]

[Text] August demonstrated what the true aspirations of the people are. It became clear that Russia's future was linked with the assertion of common human values, democracy, and freedom. Whatever the skeptics say, the people themselves have shown what path they have chosen. The present generation is discovering the very great truth that there is only one path that does not lead human society into a blind alley, and that is the path corresponding to the humanist tradition, the path along which the majority of countries in the world have been traveling and continue to travel. In our country, an alternative to the humanist line of development was not only formulated, it became an ideology, a policy; it assumed the shape of the economy and predetermined the way of life of many millions of people. In building the so-called radiant future, we have been to hell and back, as they say. All human means, including cruel repressions against the people, were used. The destruction of the natural foundations of life could not be transformed into creation. The distortion of the whole picture of the world that was consistently established in the minds of people from childhood did not help them master the truth.

Communist expansionism did not bring happiness to the peoples of the countries that fell into the sphere of its influence. On the contrary, the communist idea has found itself downcast for many long years, while the people's humanist potential has been seriously undermined. In the end, violence to man and his spirit, and to social groups and peoples, to the whole of society, could not lead and did not lead to liberation. The legacy left from the totalitarian regime will influence the (?life) of Russia and its citizens for a long time to come. But we have still had the strength to stop, and then begin the process of the most difficult ascent to normal life. In order to assess how difficult it is, one absolutely has to take account of the abyss in which we found ourselves.

And I am therefore convinced that a special criterion is needed to estimate where we are succeeding and where we are not, and why. We are still far from the modern standards of a law-governed state. We have to turn our economy upside down and master all the subtleties of the market economy. Our democracy is like a sickly child. But the main choice has already been made. We have the determination to go the whole way, climbing up the ladder to civilization. The key issue of the Conference on the Human Dimension is particularly important for Russia. Unless it acquires a human face, our country will simply not be able to get on its feet. We are realists, and therefore we understand that the values defended by the CSCE have only started to find embodiment in Russian life. [Words indistinct] and make them a reality by radical reform. But for the moment, our country is still among those that do not provide sufficient guarantees for the most basic of human rights—the right to life. The events in Sumgait, Tbilisi, Fergana, Baku, Vilnius, and most recently in Moscow bear sad witness to this. Centers of acute [tension] remain in the country, carrying off more and more lives of peaceful people.

But I categorically disagree that all this has only come to us over the last years and that the policy of reform is undermining the human right to life. Unfortunately, even such assertions as these are being voiced here. In fact, that right was trampled upon for decades by the totalitarian dictatorship, which turned violence into the main means of policy, making it an everyday habit. And we are still today coming up against the readiness to use strong-arm methods to tackle any problem. This manifests itself both in the aspiration to find the guilty and the demand to bring strict order and return to the style of commands and directives, and even to repressions. These stereotypes unfortunately exist in the consciousness of many people.

The situation is made worse by the fact that for many years, the legislative basis protecting human rights and freedoms remained weak. For many long years not a single state institution was oriented toward protecting human rights—rather the reverse. The dictatorship of the state over the individual was thereby strengthened. As a result, for a long time the situation of huge groups of people continued to be extremely vulnerable. Of particular concern to us in this connection is the problem of children being brought up in children's homes, youths serving in the Army, and also the problem of many old people and many others. In multiethnic Russia, the problem of ethnic minorities is especially understandable and close to us. The wealth of cultures and the unique experience of every people is a priceless asset that in the past promoted Russia's prosperity. We have learned by our own experience how fateful it is to undervalue the factor of multiethnicity, to say nothing of trying to do away with it, proclaiming the so-called rapprochement and merging of ethnic groups. The Russian leadership proceeds from the principle that every people, regardless of its size, should enjoy rights in their entirety and [word indistinct]. We intend to insistently strengthen guarantees of preservation of the peoples, their culture, language, and traditions.

At the same time, the Russian state has taken on guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of our compatriots living beyond Russia's confines, including those in other republics of the Union. This matter concerns not only Russians, but also people of other nationalities who have

come from the Russian Federation. The Russian leadership bases itself on recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination.

Russia is striving to become a truly open state. We will persistently dismantle hindrances to the free coming and going of Russia's citizens abroad, and create better opportunities for foreigners to visit Russia. We believe that we shall manage, within the context of the pan-European process, to strengthen international procedures for protection of democratic institutions. For our part, we intend to propose that Russia's Supreme Soviet adopt (?cardinal) new measures to ensure the most important rights and freedoms of citizens of Russia. In particular, drafts of laws have been prepared on guarantees of citizens' rights to associate without [words indistinct] preliminary checks, and guarantees for freedom of the press and other mass media.

The law on rehabilitation of people who became victims of political repressions has passed its first reading. Drafts of laws are being prepared on protection of rights of citizens who have been compelled to abandon their permanent place of residence in connection with interethnic conflicts, on changes to RSFSR criminal legislation, and on citizenship of the RSFSR. The new laws will match up fully to international standards in the field of human rights. Also to come is radical reform of legislation in [words indistinct] practice. Work is being completed on a new constitution for Russia. It will include special regard for the system of rights and freedoms fixed in international law. We intend to form a system of parliamentary monitoring of the observance of these rights and freedoms in the republic. Preparations have begun for radical reform of the system of the courts. I am convinced that the norms and practices of the judicial process in Russia should correspond to international standards, including the independence of the courts and of lawyers.

The problem of alternative military service is being actively discussed. My view is that now an appropriate law ought to be drafted. After all, there are in the republics young people who have sentences passed against them for their refusal to serve in the Army due to religious or other motives. I also consider it urgent to reduce as much as possible the death sentence as a criminal punishment, and subsequently to move toward its full repeal.

Ladies and gentlemen, it was precisely in Moscow in 1972 that the first home-grown Helsinki group appeared. In the most difficult conditions, (?working under threat) and at times to one's own life itself, they defended the values of democracy. Even at that time they put pressure on the authorities and, what is the main thing, they were awakening society. (?By pursuing an honest course, they laid the beginnings) of that mass democratic movement that grew during the years of perestroyka. Without them the spiritual revolution that freed people from fear would not have taken place in the country. There is at present a tremendous amount of interest in the existence of independent organizations that set themselves the goal of defending human rights and liberties. We shall continue to facilitate their development and also contacts with international human rights organizations.

Esteemed colleagues, a process of intensive political creativity is under way in our country—searches for the optimal forms of coexistence of states and peoples. In view of the country's uniqueness, the path that has already been traversed, we will probably be unable to make use of some other ready model of this or that country, (?as was the case with Spain) about which I am often asked. I am convinced that Russia and the Union state will create new forms of mutual relations. We do not, however, intend to act in isolation from the world; on the contrary, we shall welcome it if foreign states take part in this or that form in the cause of creating a new Union. (?Various options are possible here.) [sentence indistinct]

Following [word indistinct] of August events, we became particularly clearly aware of the need for a full and consistent decommunization of all spheres of the country's life. For as long as the communist dogma (?shackles) the individual's activities and defines the style of work of Russian organizations, for as long as it is present in politics and culture, the country will remain sick. At the same time, decommunization does not mean that communist convictions are banned or that parties that share the communist ideology are banned. We have no intention of purging communist ideas from the pages of newspapers, or to ban the works of [communist] classics. The main thing is that this process is not directed against rank-and-file communists. The task of decommunization is to put an end to the total sway of the communist ideology and practice, to restore the rights and universal human values [words indistinct].

The events of 19-21 August showed once again who our friends in the world are. Henceforth our main partners, in the long term our allies, are in the democratic countries, and the states of the West [words indistinct] session of the European neighbors that are striving to merge into a community of civilized peoples.

We are grateful to many leaders of states, and to the world community, who condemned the putschists and expressed support for us Russians. Russia advocates the restoration of world unity on the basis of common human values. For us, the military threat to us from the West is a myth born of the ideology of class confrontation. Russia and the Union are already parting with the logic of competition with the rest of the worldin the quantity and destructive force of weapons. Guaranteeing of sufficient defense is possible with considerable reduction of military spending. This will facilitate a radical reform of the Army, the KGB, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Concentrated on the territory of Russia is a considerable proportion of the nuclear potential of the country, and we are ready, at the same time, to take upon ourselves

the role of guarantor of preserving its integrality. Our obligations stemming from the nuclear weapons nonproliferation treaty are unshakeable. We call for the ending of subterranean testing of nuclear weapons—all the more so since in our country tests in Semipalatinsk are coming to an end, while stepping up tests at Novaya Zemlya would lead to ecological disasters that nature will then be unable to restore.

Ladies and gentlemen, [word indistinct] the Union and the republics bear the main responsibility for the state of affairs in their own home. The Union is a coordinator. We expect understanding from our partners, and new political steps. We are hoping for support, including the participation of the republic in general European affairs. Certainty in the (?mood) of the Russians to embark upon the path of democracy, the market economy, and the defense of human rights in accordance with international documents confirms the earnestness of our intentions.

Yeltsin on Economy, Democracy

LD1109123491 Moscow TASS in English 1141 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Russian authorities face a daunting task of putting the republican economy back on track while promoting democracy in all spheres of public life, according to Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

"Russia needs help from the European Community, and will be unable to stand up on its feet without the support of countries taking part in the CSCE process," Yeltsin told participants in the Moscow session of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

"Russia will continue to feel the heritage of totalitarianism for a long time, and this is why a special approach is needed in evaluating our actions," Yeltsin said.

"The past will long be felt. Under totalitarianism, violence was the key means in policy and there are now attempts to use forceful means," he said.

People with communist convictions will not be persecuted, and will have equal opportunity with other movements to express their views and take part in public life, Yeltsin assured.

"The idea is to end totalitarian supremacy of the communist idea," he said.

Work on the new Russian constitution is nearing completion. "Russia will not be able to use any of the available models of Western democracy. Its uniqueness is such that it needs a very original basic law that will reflect the experience of other countries as well," he said.

The August coup has revealed who are the true friends of Russia and that the Western military threat is a myth, Yeltsin said, calling for steps to speed up disarmament and reduce troops and weapons.

Pankin on Full Membership of Baltics

LD1109180291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1516 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin has termed the fact that the independent states of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia have joined with other participants in the conference as full members, a significant event of the Moscow CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension. Welcoming their official representatives, the minister expressed confidence that these European states which have gained their independence "will, in addition to assuming their full rights as members of the international community, also take on their full responsibility for respecting international obligations to observe human rights and freedoms."

Among the specific topics suggested by Boris Pankin for discussion at the conference were the working out of international mechanisms to protect human rights in inter-ethnic conflicts and the discussion of standard norms for the world community for protecting the rights of those members of the population which are most socially vulnerable.

CSFR's Dienstbier Proposes New Goals

LD1109161791 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] The most important foreign political event is undoubtedly the Moscow meeting of the CSCE on human rights, which was addressed this morning by Jiri Dienstbier, deputy prime minister of the CSFR Government and minister of foreign affairs. Our special correspondent Petr Voldan reports:

[Voldan] Jiri Dienstbier has found his place among the foreign ministers who contributed to the start of the conference with the gravity of their significant speeches. I would describe his speech in brief as a recapitulation of the situation in Europe and the movement of the CSCE, and also as an attempt to propose some new elements of activity and goals. Naturally, for this reason Jiri Dienstbier could not omit events in Yugoslavia. He called on those who are blindly relying on the strength of arms and force to be responsible and prudent. He described recent events in the Soviet Union and the current process of developments as historic events and he pointed out that the participants in the Moscow conference are meeting in a Soviet Union which is different to the one before. According to Dienstbier, the conference on human rights also requires new starting points. The head of our diplomatic corps recalled the problems of national minorities and proposed setting up a new independent mechanism for dealing with individual complaints on the violation of human rights.

On Jiri Dienstbier's agenda of meetings today was an important meeting with Hans-Dietrich Genscher. It ended a few minutes ago. Naturally, they mainly discussed the details of the Czechoslovak-German agreement. Somewhat unusual was the morning meeting of

representatives of delegations of the participating countries of the CSCE with Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The foreign ministers or their deputies seated themselves in one of the rooms of the Russian White House like pupils in a school to hear a speech by Boris Yeltsin. He spoke about the revolution in human rights in Russia and in the union. He recalled, for example, the bloody events in Tbilisi, Fergana, and Baku in past months and years. At the moment, there are complex discussions about the possibilities of a meeting between Jiri Dienstbier and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, but this is simply an attempt by both delegations to find a slot in the busy agendas of the ministers.

Dienstbier Seeks Ombudsmen Committee

LD1109161991 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] At the start of the second day of the Moscow conference of member states of the Helsinki Conference on the Human Dimension, Jiri Dienstbier, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, made some new proposals. He proposed setting up a committee of national ombudsmen, an independent institution of nongovernment observers through which individual complaints on the violation of human rights can be dealt with. According to the view of the Czechoslovak diplomatic corp, a group of experts should also meet on the issue of the Romanies. Jiri Dienstbier justified this proposal by saying that until now none of the CSCE meetings has given sufficient attention to this problem.

Estonian Official on Integration

LD1209002991 Moscow TASS in English 1909 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Andrey Krasnoshdhekov and Vitaliy Menshikov]

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—The majority of today's speakers at the third meeting of the Conference on Human Dimension within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) distinguished two events as the most significant.

First, that the conference is being held in Moscow, and, second, that delegations of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia attend the conference as fully-fledged members of the CSCE process.

The speakers today were foreign ministers of the states-members of the common European process.

During a break between sessions, Deputy Estonian Foreign Minister Rejn Mullerson told TASS about Estonian plans at the beginning of its integration with the family of European states.

"For me, it is the continuation, or, maybe, even the beginning of a very important and complicated work.

"In the first place, it is the elaboration and signing of treaties on the establishment of diplomatic relations with other states—and this is up to five agreements a day, as well as the opening of embassies and consulates, and the participation in the United Nations Organisation.

"We expect that the issue of our admission to this international organisation will be considered on September 17. That will give us possibilities to take obligations on many international documents on human rights.

"Thus, we do not feel a great joy or easiness. In other words, we ran up against things we had fought for: we ran up against the independence which appeared to be a very difficult and responsible affair.

"Mistakes are inevitable on this road, but, as I think, we have not made blunders. The most important for Estonia is that the people now can independently and freely choose its place in the world and Europe, in the first place, by its relations with other states, Russia, the Soviet Union.

"I am sure that these relations will be, although not cloudless, but kind and good. The fact that we have been a part of the Soviet Union for so long, gains us additional advantages over other states."

"As for our participation in the common European process and the possible admission to the Council of Europe, that will enable us to join the European convention on human rights and documents of the United Nations, as well as to gain an access to the international aid for the development of democracy.

"We have difficulties with the solution of problems of the human rights and inter-ethnic relations, an international experience and mechanisms of international control will enable us to solve these problems.

"We are striving for maximum openness, so that to provide for the flourishing of freedoms and rights of each person."

Mullerson noted that the relations with the Union and Russia will be a priority direction in the foreign policy of the republic. It is so far difficult to imagine what the new union will be, but, doubtlessly, economic and humanitarian relations will play a key role.

"At the same time, we attach a great significance to the development of relations with our northern neighbours. We are interested in the large-scale use of foreign investments for the development of the national economy. I believe that Estonia should become a sort of additional economic bridge to connect the West and the East."

In the opinion of the Estonian deputy foreign minister, the concepts of the national security of the republic should be based not on the "outdated" notion of traditional neutrality, which could be followed under conditions of confrontation policy.

At the same time, Estonia does not intend to join any military or political blocs. The republic is still to determine its place in the new structure of the European security, including disarmament issues.

"It does not correspond to our interests to become a bridge-head against the Soviet Union or Russia," Mullerson stressed. "I believe in the united Europe, in which sovereign states will cooperate, and no political confrontation will exist."

Asked about how Estonia views its future relations with Latvia and Lithuania, Mullerson said that, alongside the existence of common goals faced by the Baltic states, they are separate states.

"I do not imagine any unification of these states, even into a confederation. Until recently we were united in our fight for the independence. Now I do not except that we might have different approaches towards the solution of problems we are facing. But the bloc policy becomes a thing of the past, and there is nothing dramatic in this difference," Mullerson said in conclusion.

Gorbachev Meets Delegates, Holds News Conference

Meets CSFR's Dienstbier, UK's Hurd

LD1009125291 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, today at the Kremlin in Moscow met with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. He delivered a personal message from President Vaclav Havel and expressed his satisfaction over Mikhail Gorbachev's return to office. He also expressed the conviction that a situation like the coup will never be repeated.

In the morning, Jiri Dienstbier met with his British counterpart, Douglas Hurd. Their discussion concerned economic aid from Great Britain and the EC to countries of central and eastern Europe.

Confers With Spanish Foreign Minister

LD1109205691 Madrid TVE Internacional Television in Spanish 1900 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez today had a meeting with his new Soviet counterpart, Boris Pankin, and with President Gorbachev. As with all the other foreign representatives, the Soviets told the Spanish minister that they will maintain their international commitments. According to Fernandez-Ordonez, Gorbachev is very concerned about Western aid:

[Begin Fernandez-Ordonez recording] Gorbachev considers that this aid is necessary in order to rebuild the Soviet economy itself, because without it there will be or could be conflicts of a social nature which would overwhelm the authorities. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Receives Nordic Ministers

LD1109204991 Moscow TASS in English 1749 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev met ministers of Europe's Nordic countries here today.

Taking part in the meeting were Uffe Ellemann-Jensen of Denmark, Trostur Olafsson of Iceland, Thorvald Stoltenberg of Norway, Paavo Vayrynen of Finland and Sten Andersson of Sweden.

After the sides exchanged impressions of the human rights conference in Moscow that has proved most well-timed for the new, very responsible situation in Europe, the talk focused on problems of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, the countries which have just acquired the status of new independent members of the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), incorporated in the family of Baltic states. The Soviet president stressed the new responsibility of the Nordic countries for their adjustment to the new status, and particularly for the lot of considerable ethnic minorities in each of them.

Any deviation from the criteria of the Paris Charter in this respect can prompt a painful reaction not only within those countries but also in Russia and the Union.

For our part, the president said, everything will be done to facilitate the soonest possible beginning of work of the authoritative commissions set up to conduct negotiations on secession. All economic obligations effective at present will be left in effect until the end of this year. In future relations will be built on the basis of a common economic treaty and agreements on specific matters, relating in particular to the use of ports and communications, deployment of troops, energy grids, etc.

Within the framework of the European process, of course, mechanisms will be worked out to ensure the rights of all citizens, but there are things which are of priority importance, including above all the inviolability of borders. We should proceed along the road of openness and transparency of boundaries without redrawing the borders, or else it might lead to gravest consequences.

We shall cooperate, we shall create a single economic space, and a cultural space. Our intentions are constructive. We shall remember that people who are near and dear to us live on the other side of the border, people with whom we have communicated for centuries. We want to have easy-to-observe rules for exchanges, travel and contacts. It is important to ensure that all processes develop within civilized frameworks, with all respect for good-neighbourly relations. I hope that everything will work out well between us and those states, Gorbachev said.

The president replied to a number of questions concerning the organisation of international economic cooperation during the transition period.

The meeting was held in a sincere, amiable atmosphere. Both sides expressed hope for expanding and perfecting all lines of cooperation with Finland and Scandinavia in the spirit of traditional good-neighborliness.

Gorbachev asked the ministers to convey his greetings and best wishes to the peoples of the Nordic countries, their heads of state and government.

Holds News Conference With Baker

LD1109154491 Moscow TASS in English 1456 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Konstantin Voitsekhovich]

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Wednesday met U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to discuss U.S.-Soviet economic ties and prospects for cooperation in solving urgent international problems.

After the two-hour talk, both leaders held a news conference in the Kremlin.

Gorbachev described the talks on economic issues as "very substantial" and said they aimed to bring bilateral cooperation to a new and more effective level.

Speaking on economic reforms in the Soviet Union, he said "a clear-cut plan for switching the country to a market economy will be worked out in a month or two".

Both leaders discussed a Middle East settlement. They reiterated their intention to closely cooperate to accelerate the peace process in the region to move closer to a peace conference.

Speaking about special envoy Yevgeniy Primakov's visit to the Middle East, Gorbachev said he will seek to boost bilateral cooperation between the Soviet Union and the region's countries, and discuss a Middle East settlement and a peace conference.

Gorbachev said the Soviet Union will soon begin discussions with the Cuban leadership about the withdrawal of a Soviet training brigade from Cuba, adding 11,000 troops will be involved. He said talks with Cuba on this issue will not take months.

Speaking about Soviet-Cuban relations, Gorbachev said the Soviet Union intends to "modernise them" in light of the changes in the Soviet Union and in its relations with other states.

"I have information that the Cuban leadership intends to follow this line," the president said.

Baker welcomed the Soviet Union's decision to withdraw a training brigade from Cuba.

Baker spoke about new opportunities for Soviet-U.S. cooperation in various spheres, adding the united states wants to develop it to promote reforms in the Soviet Union.

At the end of the news conference, Gorbachev handed to Baker a video recording of his address made in Foros on the night of August 19, after the news conference by putschists. Baker will deliver it to President George Bush.

On behalf of the U.S. President and the people of the United States, Baker delivered to President Gorbachev a U.S. flag, which was hoisted over the Capitol Hill on August 21, when it became clear the putsch in the Soviet Union had failed.

Further on News Conference

LD1109182791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1535 GMT 11 Sep 91

[News conference with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Moscow on 11 September—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Gorbachev] Good afternoon. We are keeping the promise we made before the beginning of these talks. I will say a couple of words, Mr. Baker will say a few, then you can ask a couple of questions, and everything will be fine, I think.

Naturally, the secretary of state and I discussed the situation in the Soviet Union as well as what the world community went through. On behalf of all people and myself, I have expressed our gratitude for the clear and precise position adopted by President Bush, the secretary of state, and the U.S. Administration, and for the American people's solidarity with democratic forces and the president of the country, which was demonstrated during these days.

I briefed the secretary of state on our assessment of the situation and the lessons that we are learning from it. The basic issues can be grouped, so to speak, into two major areas. One is our economic cooperation—now under the present conditions. And here we have examined many specific questions. And the essence of the whole discussion and the substantial exchange of opinions was to come up with new forms of more effective cooperation under these new conditions in order to synchronize our steps.

The next area of issues has to do with international problems, from the angle of our cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union. I again drew the U.S. secretary of state's attention to that statement, the joint statement and the agreed position of the country's president and the republican leaders concerning the fact that we remain faithful to the international course we have been charting over the past few years in cooperation, close cooperation, with the United States.

Moreover, it is our view that the present situation, now that we have turned to a different and new phase of development of the processes within the country, opens up new opportunities for this cooperation with our Western partners. We have agreed to cooperate, as we have been doing until now, within the framework of advancing the Near East process, to have an international conference in the near future.

We returned yet again, following the Novo-Ogarevo talks on the Union treaty, when the President was here on an official visit, to the problem of cooperation on a settlement in Afghanistan, so that the initial purpose or, to be more correct, the initial plan with regard to this very acute problem is implemented to the full. We have in mind—ministers will still continue this discussion—to take new steps to accelerate the process, the internal processes, and to arrive, through consensus, at a final positive result.

We have agreed to move along the path of ratifying the treaties on conventional arms and on reducing nuclear arms, strategic offensive arms. The secretary of state showed an interest in what I and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin said during the meeting in front of the cameras—the telebridge with the Americans—on the question of the further development of our relations with Cuba. Well, yet again, I confirmed our intention to convert relations between the Soviet Union and Cuba to the framework of mutually advantageous cooperation on the basis of commercial and economic ties, by emphasizing these aspects and in order to free them from other elements which formed, existed, or took shape in a different era. That is the way we will put it. In particular, in connection with this we have in mind—I can say this today—we have in mind discussing with the Cuban leadership in the near future the question of withdrawing the training brigade that was deployed there and which carried out its tasks within the framework of its role.

Summing up everything that was said, I wish to express the opinion that I have grounds to say—and the secretary of state's view is, actually, identical—that we will not only be able to continue our cooperation and further it, but also that new opportunities are being opened up to further strengthen and develop it. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] [Words indistinct] Did you receive any specific promises from the secretary of state on financial or economic assistance?

[Gorbachev] I can only answer your question in this way: Generally speaking, all aspects of future cooperation received our attention on the basis of the understanding that it is now necessary to make use of the opportunities that have opened up. In this regard many specific approaches were considered, both what we have to do within the scope of implementing the will shown within the Seven, the fact that new opportunities are opening up in connection with cooperation between the Soviet Union and the EC, and in bilateral cooperation, with the involvement of all partners. It is very important, as the secretary of state has said, that we tackle these issues together with such international financial institutions and organizations as the IMF and the World Bank.

The U.S. secretary of the treasury will soon arrive—I will end my answer to this question—and the discussion we held with the secretary of state will be held in greater depth and firmed up. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, you and the secretary of state have discussed long-term economic assistance. However, what about the short term? Will the people survive the coming winter, and will you yourself survive intact as a result of what the winter will bring?

[Gorbachev] No, probably not. In that case I should say a little more than I have said. The secretary of state and I considered a range of problems of an immediate nature. This relates to food and medicines, and some financial issues.

At the same time, we enlightened the state secretary on our work on putting the finishing touches to the economic treaty in which—well, for the present I will use the old terminology inasmuch as we have changed nothing in economic relations with regard to the Baltic Republics—all 15 republics are taking part in this work.

Within the scope of discussing this issue, we have been speaking about movement toward a market economy, and linked with this, to the sets of problems we have to tackle, and the assistance from our Western partners we are relying on. Here, too, there was a specific, a definite exchange of views.

By way of illustration, one example: At present, we are particularly interested in moving more quickly toward the convertibility of the ruble so that our proposals, our projects of possible joint cooperation, may be more speedily implemented. We discussed this thoroughly.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, did you give the secretary of state your country's assessment of how long it will take to work out a reliable reform plan? Is it a question of a few weeks or a few months?

[Gorbachev] With regard to the immediate problems, the range of immediate problems, then this is an issue of the next few weeks, and on this score we have proposals. They have been worked through in detail and we will discuss them at the meeting of the State Council on Monday. We want to enter into contact with the Seven via Mr. Major, and into contact with the EC through its institutions, for this process to take on a specific nature.

With regard to other problems, in particular the elaboration of the cooperation program on the basis of the new economic treaty and movement toward the market, then evidently this will take us a month or two. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Is the secretary of state worried, and what is the U.S. position on the future

political configuration and has the economic factor prevailed over the political factor in our relations?

[Gorbachev] Of course. First of all the secretary of state is a well-informed man. Nonetheless, I had to give my assessment of the joint statement by the USSR president and the 10 republics—which was prepared by 11 republics—which contains considerable and very important fundamental aspects, on the basis of which the political process will develop, including the preparation of a new treaty on the Union of Sovereign States. Yes, I set out my vision to the secretary of state, which is based on the agreement of the republics and he is au fait.

[Unidentified correspondent, in English] I would like to ask you about your assessment of Cuba's destiny without the help of the Soviet Union.

[Gorbachev] We will have a mutually advantageous trade and economic exchange, and I think this is normal. There are things, there are products we have an interest in receiving from Cuba—sugar, citrus fruits, nickel. In my opinion this is normal and good. In just the same way Cuba will receive from us in exchange what it also finds necessary and essential, and which it does not possess.

I think this is the direction in which cooperation with Cuba will change. The last question, please.

[Unidentified correspondent] How did the discussions go on the Near East? What instructions have you given to your representative Yevgeniy Primakov for his visit to the Near East, and is this connected with Mr. Baker's trip to that region?

[Gorbachev] Allow me to give a brief reply to the first part. We had a very productive discussion on this question. It will be continued during the exchange of opinions between the foreign ministers with our foreign minister. With regard to Primakov's mission, then I would like to explain what its intentions are.

The main aim of Primakov's mission is the question of bilateral cooperation. Naturally, however, other problems will be raised, and I think that there will be an exchange of opinions on other questions, including the topic of a Near East settlement. I hope that this trip will be useful.

If the secretary of state has something to say on this matter—not about Primakov but about the Near East—then I would welcome it. [passage omitted]

[Gorbachev] Thank you. The first part is finished. We have a short second part.

I would like to hand to the secretary of state, for him to hand to President Bush, a tape containing a recording of my statement on the night of 19-20 [August], when I heard, when I listened to, the putschists' news conference. In this way I would like once again to express my gratitude for the very clear and precise position adopted during those days by the President, the administration, and the U.S. solidarity with those who opposed the putsch and the putschists.

On that night I delivered the statement four times and the camera filmed me; I mean our family video camera. Then we cut them into sections, packed them up, and tried to get them out, out of our place of imprisonment. [passage omitted]

[Gorbachev] Thank you. Goodbye.

Boris Yeltsin's Activities, Meetings Detailed

Meets With Delegates at 'White House'

OW1209090691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1100 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the "White House" on Moscow's Ksasnopresnenskaya Embankment, the RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin met on Wednesday with a group of delegates to the CSCE human rights conference, under way in the Soviet capital. Having observed that "our democracy looks like a child who is permanently ill," Mr. Yeltsin, however, expressed the hope that "Russia, which managed to cope with the reactionary offensive, will be strong enough to make a dash towards decent life." IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent quotes Mr. Yeltsin as saying that "there is but one road uncovered by mist: It's the road pursued by most of the world's nations."

Russia's leader called for creating an efficient mechanism of control over action on the CSCE decisions. He said the first "Helsinki group" organized here in 1976 had been the founder of the mass pro-democracy movement of today. Mr Yeltsin expressed readiness to use European experience to work out a policy guaranteeing the observance of human rights and freedoms in Russia.

The dismantlement of the Communist system in the country must not entail a clampdown on Communist ideology or rank-and-file party members; it must be spearheaded against the ideology of the totalitarian regime and the CPSU bureaucratic leadership, B. Yeltsin said.

According to him, Russia is ready to slash its nuclear and conventional arsenals and army, and ban nuclear testing altogether.

Replying to questions from the audience, Mr. Yeltsin said the new union would first and foremost be a coordinating center. The international treaties concluded by the Union would define only the basic principles of intergovernmental relations, the real content of which would be determined by the republics.

The RSFSR president said it would be too costly for Russia at present to join the United Nations or establish direct diplomatic relations with foreign countries. Under an agreement with the UN secretary-general, until the

economic situation in the RSFSR became relatively stable, there would be Russia's permanent representative at the UN. The republic would also send its permanent representatives to the Soviet embassies abroad in the near future. Mr. Yeltsin did not rule out, however, that with time the Russian Federation would open its own permanent missions in foreign countries.

Discusses Arms Control With Baker

LD1109171991 Moscow TASS in English 1645 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin on Wednesday met U.S. Secretary of State James Baker at the house of Russian Soviets in Moscow.

Yeltsin told journalists that during the two-hour talk, he and Baker discussed 20 issues, including principles of a new Union, "relations between the centre and new sovereign republics", as well as the signing of a new Union treaty.

Yeltsin said they focused on "the implementation of joint programmes during the crisis transitional period and technological and humanitarian aid".

Both leaders also touched upon "Soviet-U.S. and Russian-U.S. relations from the point of view of reducing nuclear, strategic, tactical and conventional weapons, as well as carrying out reforms in the army".

Speaking of strategic nuclear arms control, Yeltsin said "to make not only Americans but the whole world believe that only the centre, only one person can control them in the country," was the key issue at the talks.

"Strategic nuclear weapons will be controlled from the centre, from one point in the Soviet Union and none of the republics will have access to arms control," Yeltsin said.

The president said Baker and he also focused on ways to "stop help to Afghanistan and Cuba and cut arms supplies".

On the territorial problem between the Soviet Union and Japan, Yeltsin said that "taking into account the dynamism of international relations and the need for a peace treaty with Japan.

Assures Baker on Nuclear Weapons

LD1109213491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 11 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin met with James Baker today. The protocol measures, which are usually arranged literally to the minute, on this occasion were discussed for over three hours. During that time, Baker and Yeltsin discussed 20 questions of mutual interest. These included the destiny of the future Union and mutual relations between the republics, the implementation of joint economic and cultural programs, and the subject of technical and humanitarian aid to Russia and the Union, which has perhaps become a tradition. A great deal of attention focused on arms reduction, particularly nuclear weapons.

After statements by the republics about their nuclear-free status, Russia will be the only one on whose territory nuclear weapons will be deployed. What will their destiny be? From where and how will control over them be implemented? Boris Yeltsin replied to these and other questions at an improvised news conference that took place immediately after the talks.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] The monitoring of strategic nuclear armaments will proceed, as it has proceeded, from the center, from the one point; that is, the Union. No republic has or will have access to control these weapons. A guarantee, so to speak, has been given to the secretary of state and to the American people that in this respect they can be reassured. These weapons will not end up in the hands of anyone else in the world. [end recording]

Foreign Minister Pankin, Baker Discuss Issues

LD1109170791 Moscow TASS in English 1505 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—In accordance with a preliminary agreement, Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin held a working meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker here today.

Baker has arrived in Moscow in connection with the opening of the Moscow meeting of the Conference on Human Dimension within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker began their meeting one-on-one to review a wide range of problems. They agreed that the holding in Moscow of a major international forum on human rights and freedoms in pursuance of the Paris and Copenhagen stages of the Conference on the Human Dimension was a weighty confirmation of the irreversibility of the Soviet Union's policy aimed at strengthening democracy in the country and on the European scale and the efforts by member-countries determined to further consolidate the Helsinki process.

The sides believe that the principles of democracy, human rights and supremacy of law, fixed in the Charter of Paris as European norms, are now acquiring new quality in light of the new situation in the USSR and require reliable guarantees of their translation into life.

They stressed that while the principle of non-interference in internal affairs is unquestionably important, the absolute criterion is that of the supremacy of human rights and basic freedoms.

The Soviet side indicated that "we value the support of democratic transformations in the USSR by the United States and other countries and want them to know that we intend to continue to actively develop Soviet American relations along all lines".

When discussing problems relating to the Europe-scale processes, the sides praised the positive potential amassed within the framework of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe and stressed the need to preserve the dynamic progress towards building a renovated Europe. They noted the great importance of the success of Moscow's CSCE conference on human rights and freedoms (September 10-October 4) from the point of view of prospects for the further development of European cooperation, including the preparation for a new summit of the CSCE member-countries in Helsinki in 1992.

During their conversation, Pankin and Baker focused on the present state and prospects for the development of Soviet-American interaction in bilateral and humanitarian fields and stressed their mutual desire to preserve and fill with new substance the potential created by hard work over recent years and the solid diplomatic and legal basis of their cooperation.

In light of the accelerated formation in the USSR of a new political and state system and power structures, Pankin and Baker discussed prospects for the realization of the agreements signed lately between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The Soviet minister reaffirmed the Soviet Union's commitment to the policy of new thinking in international affairs and the direct interest of the Soviet Union as a whole and its separate subjects in the further perfection of the ramified infrastructure of bilateral interaction with the United States created in recent times.

Taking into account new opportunities offering themselves as a result of the radical transformation of Soviet society, both sides indicated their intention to promote bilateral cooperation in various fields.

Pankin and Baker continued an exchange of views on Soviet-American economic interaction in the spirit of provisions worked out during meetings in London and Moscow.

The sides discussed practical steps to be taken under present conditions in order to ensure a more resolute advancement of the Soviet Union along the road of economic reforms and its integration in the world economic system, as well as urgent measures to extend humanitarian aid, including food and other essentials, to the Soviet Union.

The sides recognised it advisable to continue work, that has begun at the level of the union and separate republics, to improve the systems of retail and wholesale distribution of farm produce and raise the efficiency of the Soviet energy complex on the basis of joint projects and a wider involvement of American investments.

Baker and Pankin examined the present state and prospects for the interaction between the Soviet Union and the United States in the field of arms limitation and disarmament.

The Soviet side reiterated its firm intention to unconditionally honour the Soviet Union's obligations under agreements it has signed or recognised, including in the field of arms reduction and disarmament.

They considered aspects of the negotiations on reducing arms, including short-range nuclear weapons, and the resumption of wide- scale negotiations on nuclear testing.

When examining regional problems, Pankin and Baker focused on the preparations for a peace conference on the Middle East, of which the Soviet Union and the United States are co-chairmen.

The sides reiterated their mutual desire to step up joint and parallel Soviet-American diplomatic efforts aimed at coordinating by all interested countries of matters relating to the organisation of the conference and ensuring its convocation in October.

While discussing the Afghan issue, the sides confirmed their mutual determination to facilitate the soonest possible political settlement in Afghanistan and noted the importance of realization in practice of the principles set out in the statement by the U.S. secretary-general [as received] on May 21, and the readiness of both sides to substantially intensify the process of Soviet-American interaction aimed at achieving the settlement and taking specific practical steps for the purpose.

Pankin and Baker exchanged views on the peace process in Central America and prospects of its development, as well as the situation around Cuba.

The conversation took place in an atmosphere of openness and mutual understanding. Pankin and Baker reached agreement on further contacts, including their meeting at the forthcoming United Nations General Assembly Session.

Baker, Hurd, Genscher, De Michelis on Aid

LD1109203991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Sep 91

["Exclusive" interviews with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, UK Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis by unidentified correspondents in Moscow on 11 September; from the "Vremya" newscast; Baker and Hurd in English fading into Russian; Genscher speaks in German fading into Russian; de Michelis in Italian fading into Russian]

[Text] In Moscow, the intergovernmental CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension continued its work today. It was not just by chance that the Yugoslav events and the attempted coup in the Soviet Union were expected to be the main themes of the meeting, and this was confirmed on the first day.

We have several interviews exclusive to "Vremya":

[Baker] We want to cooperate with you, help you, President Gorbachev, President Yeltsin, and other reformers, to help you live through this period when the whole program of change will be implemented. We devoted much time to discussing the importance of what should be created quickly in the Soviet Union and to create an effective program of reforms and do this in close cooperation with international financial institutions.

[Hurd] In our cooperation, there are broad possibilities for practical steps for joint actions in a number of areas. I see aid to the Soviet Union, in the first place, as passing on our experience, the knowledge of which is extremely necessary in the new conditions, and we intend to do this quickly.

[Genscher] We are one Europe. So what is happening in the East cannot be ignored in the West. I am in favor of increasing Western aid to the Soviet Union. This is necessary both for solving economic problems and for creating social guarantees. As regards aid from the FRG, well we want first of all to help with food. No less important, Mr. Genscher said, is taking part in the modernization of the USSR's power industry.

[De Michelis] To lessen the coming difficulties, it is necessary, in the first place, to preserve the union of disintegrating republics. Only by supporting each other can you achieve quick and radical reforms in the economy and policies. If you achieve an agreement on a new union, then Western countries, including Italy, will simply have to take important policy decisions on how to help the reforms and economy of your country.

De Michelis To Offer Food Aid

OW0909195391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 9 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to DP's [Diplomatic Panorama] sources, Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis, who has arrived in Moscow for the CSCE human rights conference, intends to discuss specific projects for helping the USSR improve its system of produce processing and distribution. Italy has offered the Union nearly 7 million dollars in three credit lines to finance these and other cooperation projects. Experts do not rule out that the Italian minister may offer the USSR urgent food assistance, too. This question is expected to be discussed in detail during Mr. de Michelis's scheduled meetings with Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin. The guest may also meet with the heads of the USSR Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy, Mr. T. Silayev and Mr. A. Volskiy.

Genscher Views Meetings With Gorbachev, Yeltsin

LD1109101391 Berlin ADN in German 0914 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (ADN)—Foreign and security policy questions are being formulated and answered anew in the Soviet Union. German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, in discussing his talks in the USSR capital on 11 September, mentioned as evidence of this, among other things, acceptance of the Baltic states as CSCE members. He found active support for German demands for further development of CSCE mechanisms. President Gorbachev told him that he thinks this initiative is important so that coup leaders can be isolated and human and minority rights can be implemented. The fundamental German demand that short-range weapons and nuclear artillery on both sides should be totally eliminated and troop strengths should be drastically reduced met with approval from Russian President Yeltsin.

Regarding the creation of new market economy structures in the Soviet Union, "one must strike while the iron is hot" as long as "representatives of the old thinking are on the defensive," the minister said. What matters is to exploit opportunities for consultation and to underpin this consultation with tangible aid. All those involved in the talks greatly emphasized their interest in maintaining the union in a new form and, thus, guaranteeing a certain stability for the future.

He noted the demand by Germans in the USSR for an autonomous republic and expressed an urgent desire for the demand to be fulfilled, the minister announced. He agreed with his interlocutors that what matters here is not so much the delineation of territory "but more a place for establishing an identity" for the ethnic Germans. Creating an autonomous republic will also improve the Soviet Germans' status overall.

"We will be here more often in the future," Genscher stressed. He will open a German cultural week in the Ukraine on 18 October and will go to Kazakhstan next month. Germany will also help prepare an international university for training economists and managers, as proposed by Moscow Mayor Popov.

Genscher will visit Tallinn at noon and will visit Latvia and Lithuania later.

Denies Agreement Reached on Honecker

LD1109074191 Berlin ADN in German 0658 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Moscow, 11 Sep (ADN)—The Federal Government and the Soviet leadership have apparently not yet reached agreement on the future of the former GDR

head of state, Erich Honecker. Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher told the press in Moscow this morning that he had talked about this question with State President Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Pankin on Monday. However, "there is no result", he said. [passage omitted]

Petrovskiy Meets U.S. Congressional Delegation

LD0909181591 Moscow TASS in English 1801 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—The First Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Vladimir Petrovskiy, who is also executive secretary of Moscow's CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension, received a delegation from the U.S. Congress's Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe headed by its chairman Steny Hoyer and Co-Chairman Senator Dennis DeConcini.

During the circumstantial and candid conversation, the Soviet side noted that the holding of a conference on the human dimension in Moscow testifies to the immutability of the Soviet people's choice of the road leading towards democracy and integration in the community of civilized countries.

The conference will undoubtedly make a new step to reaffirm and consolidate the principles of human rights and create their guarantees, actively using international law, including Helsinki Accords.

Members of the U.S. delegation were told about the Soviet approach toward humanitarian cooperation within the framework of the European-scale process, as well as in the sphere of bilateral Soviet-American interaction.

Special attention was given to problems, the solution of which would facilitate radical progress of this interaction very soon.

The attention of American guests was also drawn to the adoption of the declaration of human rights and freedoms by the recent congress of Soviet people's deputies.

The sides discussed problems ensuing from the decision of the USSR State Council to recognise Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia as independent states.

The American side said the United States was supporting the Soviet Union's efforts to further deepen democratic transformations, radically reform all aspects of society's life and create a truly law-governed state with its care for the human individual and dignity in focus

Comments on Conference

PM0909122191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 91 Single Edition p 3

[Interview with V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, by correspondent B. Orekhov; place and date not given; first paragraph is an introduction: "Morality Against Force. Will We Be Able To Implement European Standards on Human Rights?"]

[Text] The CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension opens in Moscow 10 September. The idea for the conference was suggested by the USSR at the all-European meeting in Vienna. The Moscow conference is its third stage. Our correspondent met with Conference Executive Secretary V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and asked him to answer some questions connected with the upcoming forum.

[Orekhov] Vladimir Fedorovich, there is a difficult situation in the country: We have just been through a putsch. Will this affect the course of the conference, its results?

[Petrovskiy] The Moscow conference will indeed be taking place in an unusual situation, after democratic forces and thousands of our fellow citizens went unarmed onto the streets and defended the constitutional system, preventing the putschists from implementing their plans to destroy the burgeoning democracy in our country.

This does not mean, however, that the conference was less relevant for us before. The implementation of European standards on human rights in the legislative sphere was always a most important goal of perestroyka and the new thinking. The very fact that such a major forum is being held in Moscow in the present circumstances—and practically all the foreign ministers of the Helsinki process states and major politicians and public figures intend to come for the opening—will be a symbol of the victory of democracy and nonreturn to totalitarianism in the USSR. It is in the interests of all CSCE states to draw correct conclusions from the August events, and they must be drawn right now, while the events is still fresh in their minds.

[Orekhov] Both here in our country and abroad, the concept of new political thinking is described as a significant gain for perestroyka. As a result of the implementation of this policy, historic treaties have been signed on limiting and reducing medium- and shorter range missiles, strategic offensive armaments, and others. What are your views on cooperation in the humanitarian sphere, in the field of human rights?

[Petrovskiy] A distinctive feature of the new political thinking that is being established in world affairs is the appeal to reason, to common human values.

Following the nightmare of World War II, the world is moving laboriously but steadily toward the humanitarian ideals of nonviolence, which are seen not only as cultural and philosophical values, but also as political values. The individual human rights and freedoms, and the guarantee of their protection—and not just state or ideology—are becoming the focus of constructive efforts in international politics. As a result of perestroyka in the our domestic and foreign policy, these trends were

enshrined in the Paris Charter for a New Europe, which announced the end of the cold war.

Perestroyka also made it possible to look anew at the means of achieving reliable security. The classic factors of security—military, political, and economic—were joined by ecological and humanitarian parameters.

[Orekhov] Is there a direct link between the processes in international life that you were talking about and domestic politics?

[Petrovskiy] As a result of the easing of global military confrontation and the democratization and humanization of international relations, problems of the protection of human rights and the security of the individual and of peoples have come to the fore. The concepts of democracy, freedom, and human dignity are coming to the forefront of the domestic and foreign policy of the majority of countries. The coincidence of long-term national and foreign policy priorities is certainly a very powerful factor of international and regional security and stability.

During the popular resistance to the putchists, organized by democratic forces headed by RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President B.N. Yeltsin, the coup in our country was condemned by the entire international community. It not only condemned it, but also took specific political and economic steps against the usurpation of power in the USSR. So the international community is entitled to make its own contribution to elaborating the norms that will insure us and it against a repetition of this in the future.

A threat can rarely emanate from countries where the law is supreme, where basic human rights are guaranteed. On the other hand, a threat of unpredictable actions and foreign expansion comes from states with nondemocratic systems, in which their own citizens' rights are flouted.

[Orekhov] It has been two and one-half years since it was decided in Vienna to hold the Moscow humanitarian conference. What has the Soviet Union done to prepare for it?

[Petrovskiy] I will say right away that the preparations for the forum were not mere window dressing, as has often been the case in the past. The very fact that it was being held in Moscow was a major commitment and it had a dynamic effect on bringing our legislation and practice into line with the USSR's international obligations. But the discrepancy between words and actions was immense. As a result of vigorous work by our parliamentarians, academics, and experts, many laws were adopted that directly concern the rights of millions of citizens. I will name just some of those in the so-called priority package of laws on human rights: on freedom of conscience and religious organizations, on public associations, on the press and other media, on the freedom of Soviet citizens to leave the USSR and enter the USSR. The work does not end there, of course; and it will be continued after the Moscow conference.

At this point I must mention the lessons learned from the putsch. Without playing down the importance of the great deal of legislative work that has been done during the perestroyka years, we must admit that the adoption of civilized laws (although some laws require substantial amending to make them comply fully with our international commitments) is not enough to dismantle the totalitarian system. Without an effective mixed economy, social protection for people, and the formation and strengthening of new forces and new cadres we will not be able to build a democratic rule-of-law society. It is also very important to adopt effective measures to develop all forms of ownership, especially private. In my view, these steps could stabilize the processes in society.

Finally, national guarantees against tyranny, violence, and dictatorship must be supplemented by guarantees on the international level—and that is another lesson we should all learn.

[Orekhov] Some time ago our press reported that the USSR had subscribed to the Optional Protocol of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Does this document have a bearing on the upcoming Moscow conference?

[Petrovskiy] Yes, a very direct one. Participation in generally recognized international control mechanisms is a very important aspect of the Helsinki process states' fulfillment of pledges in the human dimension sphere. This is enshrined, in particular, in the Vienna and Copenhagen final documents.

In 1988, we essentially carried out a conceptual overhaul of our approaches to this question and embarked on their implementation.

I would point out that the first step was taken in 1989 with the removal of reservations relating to six international treaties on human rights. In that way, the USSR acknowledged the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court in respect of these treaties.

We expect there to be numerous parallel public measures on human rights topics in Moscow. Foreign public organizations will be given every chance to communicate freely with their partners in the USSR.

Only through joint efforts by states and the public can a qualitatively new European order, geared to concern for the individual and his dignity, be established.

[Orekhov] Postscript: I read what V.F. Petrovskiy said and I thought to myself: Everything he said is absolutely correct. Concern for the individual and his dignity must take precedence, and particularly here. But today... what is this concern, what are these human rights we are talking about when, for the fourth consecutive day, the editorial staff has not received the pay they are entitled to. PRAVDA's accounts have been frozen by the "White

House." Proofreaders, messengers, secretaries, and typists who live from payday to payday are in a state of panic: How do we feed the children?

Take another example on the same theme: Where will the tens of thousands of former party workers, now cast aside, work and who will protect their human rights? Are they and the PRAVDA staff to go to the "White House" bearing slogans in defense of human rights? Or perhaps they should go directly to the House of Unions Hall of Columns where the Moscow humanitarian conference is to be held? What do you think about that, readers?

Deputy Foreign Minister Deryabin Interviewed

LD0909181391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1130 9 Sep 91

[Interview with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Yuriy Stepanovich Deryabin by "All-Union Radio observer" Viktor Levin on the opening of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension; place and date not given; from the "Priority of Human Rights" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Levin] Yuriy Stepanovich, perhaps we can begin by your saying a few words about yourself, please.

[Deryabin] I was appointed USSR deputy foreign minister on Monday. I deal, or will deal with, all European issues, both multilateral and bilateral.

[Levin] With European affairs.

[Deryabin] With European affairs. Prior to this assignment, I worked as the head of the Directorate for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Now I will be dealing with the whole range of these issues and, at the same time—at the president's instruction—I have been appointed co-chairman of the Soviet delegation to the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension. This, too, is a new formula: There will be two co-chairmen. The other co-chairman is Sergey Adamovich Kovalev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Human Rights Committee.

[Levin] A man known fairly well in—let us say—dissident circles, but presumably in yours, too.

[Deryabin] Indeed, he is known in our circle. We cooperate well with him, and I think that the participation by that kind of man in the work of the conference on human rights will undoubtedly enrich our delegation and help make our position even more open and based on wide approaches. I have met Sergey Adamovich more than once and can say that between us there is—as it is fashionable to say now—full consensus on these issues. That is not so very difficult because, all in all, under Shevardnadze, the Foreign Affairs Ministry did quite a lot to ensure a new approach, a more open approach to human rights.

[Levin] Yuriy Stepanovich, here a fundamental question immediately arises. A few years ago such a conference on human dimension would not have been possible in the Soviet Union. Here, thanks to perestroyka, thanks to the steps that were taken, the situation has changed fundamentally. I think that now you feel particularly confident, using as a basis a document such as the declaration of rights and freedoms adopted at the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Could you tell us, please, how the discussion went at the first two—this is the third one, if I am not mistaken—conferences on human dimensions and what difficulties did we encounter then?

[Deryabin] You are right, of course. The very idea of a conference on human dimensions, or to be more specific a human rights conference, would have been unthinkable, say, six or seven years ago. The concept of human rights itself was present in the European process, in the Helsinki Final Act. I will be frank, however: At the signing the Helsinki Final Act, our leadership at that time did not intend to comply with the appropriate provisions on human rights. Furthermore, I can say that when these issues were raised, and they were actively raised by the West, we always clung together, regarding it as interference in internal affairs, as a very uncomfortable element. At that time when this issue was being discussed, one of the members of the Politburo said: It would be useful to cut the bottom out of this third basket.

[Levin] So that it would all fall through?

[Deryabin] Yes. Of course, the very idea of a conference on, let us call it human rights or on the human dimension—which, by the way, was put forward by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze in November 1986 in Vienna at the opening of the Vienna meeting—reflects our new approach to human rights. Moreover, we then proposed to hold this conference in Moscow.

Let us return to the first two stages. The first stage took place in Paris, the second in Copenhagen. All in all, I can tell you that especially in Copenhagen, we did not have great internal difficulties, again thanks to the fact that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Shevardnadze personally—I should especially point this out—exhibited a wide open approach and gave a wide mandate to our delegation. Of course, at the time we had to coordinate our directives both with the appropriate departments of the CPSU Central Committee and with other departments, as we say. Undoubtedly, there were difficulties. The difficulties went in one direction: these stereotypes, interference or not interference, what it could lead to, should we agree to observers or not, entry and exit, jamming and so on. There were difficulties at the working level, which reflected the departments' specific approaches.

That is, many people did not manage to overcome this ideological blinkering completely. But knowing we had Shevardnadze's support, all of us who were dealing with

these problems felt generally confident. Indeed, at Copenhagen especially, the Copenhagen document particularly, it was not widely talked about outside, just like the Paris Charter, incidentally; but there exist in writing many things that were impossible just a few years ago and for which you would simply have been put in prison. But they were things calculated for the future: democracy, pluralism, the supremacy of the law—a whole range of other provisions. It was on this basis, therefore, that we also prepared for Moscow, for the Moscow conference . This is what the concept was built upon. But I tell you frankly that the August events and the putsch did not just force us to revise our conceptual attitude to the problems of human rights, but raised a whole range of new questions.

[Levin] Those three days, you mean.

[Deryabin] Yes, those three days raised a whole range of new questions and we are now making fundamental changes in the position that we had prepared before the putsch, before those events—concepts of openness, transparency, ensuring human rights, one of the most important conditions for stability in Europe. But there are a whole range of lessons. I would put it like this: First, we have become convinced that declaring lofty principles is not enough, subscribing to these is not enough. It was a big step for the Soviet Union to recognize European standards as standards for ourselves. That was already a step forward.

[Levin] European standards in the field of human rights.

[Deryabin] In the field of human rights, yes, in the field of human rights. It was already a step forward. But following the August events, the coup, we have now convinced ourselves that guarantees are necessary, that it is not now a matter of declaring yet more new principles over and above those that already exist, but a question of providing guarantees that those principles will not just remain on paper. That is the first thing: a guarantee.

Second, and this is very important, national guarantees are not enough. International guarantees are needed.

[Levin] This is new in principle.

[Deryabin] This is new in principle. International guarantees are needed. Whatever national guarantees there are, they are insufficient. Guarantees are needed, the support of the international community is needed to ensure support for democratic institutions and make such coups and the restriction of human rights impossible—we need international guarantees. This is one of the new positions that we are now taking to the Moscow conference.

Regarding another issue, one very complex question is the question of non-interference in internal affairs. This is a hallowed principle. Like all states, we are going to continue to support it, but this is not such a simple question. Often they have tried to hide behind this principle with regard to human rights. Say some violations of human rights take place in our country. Those January events in the Baltic republics, for instance. I say quite frankly that there were efforts—when this caused great concern, natural concern, in the West and in central and eastern Europe—to argue that our first reaction should be: This is none of their business. This is none of their business. These involve our own internal affairs and we will decide ourselves.

The problem, however, is this: The principle of non-interference, despite its importance, must not operate with regard to human rights and the observance of human rights. I would put it like this: Human rights and democracy must have supremacy over the principle of non-interference. It must be like this. In general, I would say that this is a fundamentally important issue and that what follows from what I have said is this: We must not be afraid of new procedures and mechanisms, which we have sometimes avoided, using words like monitoring, in the human rights area. I do not think that we should be frightened of this word now.

Yes, international monitoring in the human rights field is needed. This means following the procedures of the United Nations Organization, it means the setting up of new procedures within the CSCE. We already have the mechanism created in Vienna, the human dimension mechanism, which provides for inquiries and replies and so on. What is being raised now is the question—actually it is not being raised now, it was raised by the West back in Copenhagen—of bringing in new procedures, sending observers, rapporteurs, fact-finding missions, and so on.

I say quite frankly that in general, once again until the month of August, a certain provocative attitude was in operation along the lines that this would lead to interference, although, for instance, the Yugoslavs understood in good time that this is not interference. It is help from outside to ensure the observance of human rights and democratic processes in one's own country. I do not think we have any cause to fear this in the present situation.

[Levin] Yuriy Stepanovich, do you think that if the putschists had succeeded, would this conference have taken place?

[Deryabin] Never. In the first place, it would not have taken place because no one would have come. I know a draft resolution was being prepared in NATO, saying that 16 countries would not come. The putschists themselves, however, would not have wanted it. The whole range of problems would have been presented in a different light.

[Levin] Can we now state that having foiled the putsch, democracy took a great step forward in this context?

[Deryabin] Undoubtedly, undoubtedly. I tell you that even after the putsch failed, the pros and cons of whether or not to hold this conference in Moscow were weighed from a purely practical.... [changes thought] After all, the

circumstances were out of the ordinary—not from the point of view of its content.

We came to the conclusion, however, that the importance of this conference is growing immeasurably. Of itself it is important, but following the putsch even more so, in the light of the new developments regarding these problems—human rights, democracy, democratic institutions, and the internationalization of these issues.

The West, too, has an interest in this. Incidentally, one of the issues, one of the specific issues that is to be discussed at the Moscow conference, is the question of how legislation concerning a state of emergency can be made compatible with international standards. There are definite international standards, and so forth, on this issue to avoid the kind of thing that took place in our country—things that were outwardly and allegedly constitutional in character, but that did not fall within any constitutional or international legal framework.

[Levin] Yuriy Stepanovich, several days prior to the opening of the conference, an event of extraordinary importance in the life of our country took place. I am thinking of the recognition of Baltic republics' independence. Do you think that the issue of the possible participation by these republics in the conference, now as independent states, is going to come up?

[Deryabin] I am happy to answer this question more than positively, because in the decision, or more precisely decisions, they were separate, one of the items says that the Soviet Union supports, fully supports, the Baltic states' efforts to join the United Nations and become full participants in the CSCE process. In general, I would like to say that the decisions made contain no reservations whatsoever. Yesterday, the new minister and I held a news conference, a briefing. They had become so used to distrusting us that the main questions were as follows: Are there any reservations there? Is this decision subject to ratification by the Supreme Soviet? Will there be some sort of decree? Is there anything else there?

[Levin] You mean they were looking for dirty tricks?

[Deryabin] They were looking for dirty tricks. Are there any restrictive mechanisms there? No. The value of the decisions, apart from the fact that it is a courageous and logical step, consists in the fact that finally it is an unreserved step.

I can tell you that there already is a scenario, a joining scenario. We have had contacts in this respect with Germany. Germany at the moment is the chairman of the CSCE Council of Ministers. Mr. Genscher is the current chairman of the CSCE Council of Ministers. Even before recognition, our German colleagues worked out a preliminary scenario on admitting the Baltic states to the CSCE. We were glad to report, immediately after the decisions were adopted, that this scenario can be put into operation.

The point is that on 10 September, when the Moscow conference opens, and foreign affairs ministers begin to arrive, there will be a short meeting of the foreign affairs ministers of all the 35 states, actually a special session of the CSCE council of foreign affairs ministers, at which the issue of the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, and the Estonian Republic's becoming full CSCE members will be examined and resolved positively. A consensus will be reached; that is, they will take part on the full basis, beginning on 10 September, in the Moscow conference. I can tell you that our executive secretariat is already preparing the appropriate places, flags, and all other attributes.

[Levin] Will the sessions take place in the House of Unions?

[Deryabin] The sessions will take place in the House of Unions, both the plenary and working ones. President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will address the opening session. A reception will be held that evening. It is anticipated that there will be a meeting of foreign ministers with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the president of Russia. So, this ministerial phase is a very important part of the Moscow conference, an important political part. Then the diplomatic work will begin that again will differ from previous stages in that not only professional diplomats, so to speak, will take part—it will not just be a diplomatic conference—but both parliamentarians and human rights defenders will be taking a very active part, and that will be an innovation of the Moscow conference, too.

[Levin] Yuriy Stepanovich, the work of the conference is planned to end on 4 October. At the final stage, will the foreign ministers meet again or is this not currently being considered?

[Deryabin] No, this is being planned and it did not happen in Copenhagen or in Paris. The ministers set the political orientation, the political tone of our work, and after that work on documents and proposals will begin. I think there will be very interesting proposals. At the end, the intention is to adopt a final document. I would like to say that it is a complicated but good thing that this time we are agreeing on the directives with the republics. That is not simple. It is not simple, but there is this constructive work going on. Republican priorities are being consdidered; that is, we have the draft directives and are agreeing on them with Russia and with the other republics. We are working out a consensus. This time we are agreeing not with departments of the CPSU Central Committee, the Foreign Ministry, or the Committee for State Security, not with civil servants, but with the republics.

[Levin] So you are a trailblazer here, to a certain extent?

[Deryabin] I would say so. To certain extent we did carry out this harmonization previously, but not on such a scale and not so openly.

[Levin] Not taking their views into consideration like this, perhaps.

[Deryabin] Precisely. The role of the public, that is, the human rights defenders, the representatives of religious organizations and of individuals, has been growing in recent years. This is a new development. Every such event is accompanied by so-called parallel events; for example, in Copenhagen, the official conference was under way, along with parallel events. That is how it will be in Moscow. About 10,000 representatives of various nongovernmental organizations, human rights defenders and so on, are expected to come to Moscow.

I can tell you that all the Soviet Embassies abroad have been instructed to issue visas to all who want to come, without hindrances or any kind of restrictions. Someone comes in to the embassy and says: I want to go to Moscow to participate in the parallel events, and he is issued a visa. There have been cases of delays. Not all the embassies yet, not all the people, realize this. They demand, as matter of course, an invitation or request to go to Moscow. We have once again sent instructions to the embassies that there should be no delays.

[Levin] As I see it, this is also a very new step for the ministry, when you are acting with a feeling both of independence and of understanding for all the problems that face people today. After all, if my memory serves me well, there were problems with visas before the Congress of Compatriots.

[Deryabin] Of course, of course. We sense both what you have just mentioned and a great responsibility, because the success of the Moscow conference depends largely not just on the documents that we adopt—a consensus can always be found at the professional level, the question of the level of this document; but the second, very important facet, is the maximum openness. AT the official conference, there should be, in parallel with it, having contact with the conference, energetic interaction, mutual enrichment, debate, disputes, whatever you like, for every person that shows an interest, or feels hurt, or has some initiative in the human rights sphere. Everyone who feels committed to this theme should come to Moscow. We envisage that our delegation will have the very broadest of contacts, as far as it is physically possible, with everyone who wants to meet us.

[Levin] Yuriy Stepanovich, please tell us, the long-suffering law on entry into and exit from the USSR. I know that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs fought very hard for this for many months. It was finally adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, albeit with reservations with regard to its entry into force. Is it closer to implementation?

[Deryabin] The law is indeed a long-suffering one, it is a long-suffering law. It was ready two years ago after the Vienna meeting, the document contained some very important provisions for making internal legislation and practice compatible with international obligations. Having armed ourselves with this provision of the Vienna document, we sought changes to many laws, including the adoption of a law on entry and exit. It was ready two years ago, was examined by experts. It was totally in keeping with those lofty standards.

But then the braking process began, including in the Supreme Soviet, incidentally. There were different reasons, including a failure to understand. They said: Surely, with the problems we have, is an emigration law the most important issue for us? That was the first issue. Second, they said the people will now leave the Soviet Union. There will be a brain drain, a mass exodus, and so on. But that is not the point. The point is to create normal conditions in the country and then no one will.... [changes thought] Those who want to leave will be able to return. It is, moreover, a law on entry and exit, on the right to leave and to return to one's own country.

It has now finally been adopted. I do not think there should be any obstacles in its implementation.

But practice, incidentally, has long since overtaken this law. I see the significance of this law, most of all in the fact that at last, the right of every citizen to leave his own country and to return has been declared in legislative form. It has to be said quite plainly that the practice itself has indeed become the practice of almost unrestricted exit in recent years. But the last obstacles that were maintained are removed by this law.

[Levin] Yuriy Stepanovich, in our press some Soviet citizens are now quite reasonably drawing attention to the fact that there are no obstacles on our own part, but that there are what at first sight are purely technical obstacles on the part of our Western partners. I do not know what lies behind this but there are technical obstacles. In order to obtain, say, an entry visa for any of the West European countries, people have to stand in a line for weeks. How does the Ministry of Foreign Affairs raise this question with its Western partners? If it does raise it, how do the partners react?

[Deryabin] The problem is indeed on a totally different level now. The obstacles and the barriers now are not in leaving the Soviet Union but in entering other countries. Other countries, and not just Western countries, but countries—I do not know which ones—countries of central and eastern Europe, to be brief, and all other countries are worried about a possible increase in a flow is already taking place, in the number of Soviet citizens who will leave. This creates a problem for those countries, it creates economic problems, social problems, and so on. We have, therefore, raised and we will raise the issue not just of easing the exit from our own country but of easing entry into other countries, too.

This is not the only problem here. There is the problem of protecting our citizens who leave. Unfortunately, many of our people do not understand the difficulties they will encounter in other countries. If mechanisms are not found to protect our citizens who leave, then they could find themselves treated not just as second-class people over there but even third-class people.

There is the danger now that in the absence of such mechanisms, our citizens will be paid worst of all, they will accept any kind of work, they will be willing to accept minimum pay. On top of that, they will have no rights. The dumping of labor that is totally unprotected will begin.

[Levin] That is one side of the matter. Let me take another. Let us say that I receive an invitation from friends of mine in Germany who invite me for a week, for two weeks, for a month, perhaps. The question of my wanting to work there does not arise. I simply want to go there as a guest. But the difficulties in getting a visa turn a trip of that kind into an extremely complicated pleasure. Don't the Western embassies intend in some way to differentiate between those who are going to work and those who are going to visit friends, and approach this matter accordingly?

I understand full well that we could be the ruination even of a country like Germany, if we were to pile in there all together. Their protective measures there do not give rise to any doubts for me. But from the point of view precisely of human rights, how about the rights of entry and exit?

[Deryabin] That is right. This does relate to the problem of making it easier to enter other countries, and we shall be raising these issues. That is, the easing of formalities, visa formalities, simplification of these, reducing the time it takes to issue a visa—what other countries were previously demanding of us, simplification of the formalities for entry to the Soviet Union. We now have the right to raise the issue of simplifying the formalities and reducing the time it takes to enter another country. I do not think it is impossible for this to be one of the proposals, one of the points of the final document of the Moscow conference. Later on, these issues can be settled on a bilateral basis.

Romanian Delegation Includes Moldovan 'Guests'

AU1109105991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1035 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/9/1991—The Romanian delegation to the All-European Conference on Human Rights in Moscow includes representatives of the Republic of Moldova with the status of invited guests, Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase stated to "TINERETUL LIBER" daily. They are a first deputy prime minister, the ambassador of the Republic of Moldova to Moscow, Ion Cebuc, a first deputy minister of foreign affairs, Nicolae Osmochescu, the head of the Parliament's Foreign Relations Commission, Nicolae Nedelciuc, being expected to arrive from Chisinau [Kishinev].

It is an important moment since this participation of the three representatives of the Republic of Moldova could, in the opinion of the Romanian Foreign Ministry, start an international process, after the model of the Baltic countries we have been following along the years which can lead to the results they expect, we expect—that is the recognition of the independence of the Republic of Moldova.

Opening Ceremony of CSCE Conference Ends

LD1209092591 Moscow TASS in English 0653 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—A two-day opening ceremony of the CSCE Conference on Human Dimension ended with reports made by foreign ministers of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, as well as a representative of the Council of Europe.

Foreign ministers, who are leading delegations of their respective countries, are leaving the Column Hall of the House of Unions. Routine work begins today at the Moscow forum, the task of which is to further upgrade an international mechanism that will guarantee every resident of the European Continent the protection of his rights and freedoms. Specialists in various aspects of international relations, law, disarmament, ecology and even psychology are getting down to work. Specialists in psychology are also needed, because it is hardly possible to achieve progress within the framework of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which chose Moscow as its venue for the coming three weeks, without the psychology of global trust.

CSCE Parallel Meetings Held in Moscow

PM1109133191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In Informal Language"]

[Text] In southwest Moscow, in the Academy of Social Sciences building, which once belonged to the CPSU Central Committee, parallel measures of the Moscow convention of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension are taking place.

In the halls and auditoriums where the Communist Party leading cadres once studied the foundations of Marxism, representatives of nongovernment organizations from the CSCE countries are now meeting.

In particular, they are discussing how to learn to respect the rights of national minorities and resolve ethnic conflicts by peaceful means, how to ensure the population's social protection under the conditions of a market economy, how to inform the population about the basics of family law, and how to bring national legislation in this sphere in line with the convention on the rights of children, as adopted by the United Nations.

Russian Patriarch Sends Message to Conference

OW1109081791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Alexi II, the patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, has sent the CSCE human rights conference that opened in Moscow on Tuesday, a message pointing out that "over a few days this country underwent changes so important that no one is doubting its peoples' determination to rule out a return to old practices." The patriarch sees the main reason for the coup's quick failure in the fact that the people refused to support the putschists but rose up against them.

"The Russian Orthodox Church has always believed in the viability of the Helsinki process and contributed in a creative way to the construction of a common European home," Patriarch Alexi's message says. "What is needed today is tireless work for the people's moral rebirth.... We are positive that our country will never play a destabilizing role in the life of Europe and the entire international community," writes the head of the Russian Orthodox Church.

EC's Delors Calls For Emergency Food Assistance

LD1109170291 Moscow TASS in English 1541 GMT 11 Sep 91

[by TASS correspondent Igor Kuleshov]

[Text] Paris September 11 TASS—President of the Commission of the European Communities Jacques Delors called for granting the Soviet Union the emergency food aid to a sum of no less than two billion U.S. dollars, at today's session of the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

Delors called on Japan, the United States and Canada to participate in this action and stressed that until now 78 per cent of the aid and 80 per cent of the technical assistance to the Soviet Union belonged to EC member-states.

Such a proportion should be changed, noted Delors.

The two billion dollars could be used to supply the Soviet Union with food not only from Common Market countries, but from Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia as well, the president said.

By saying this, Delors tried to ease the painful reaction in Europe, especially in its eastern part, to the fact that France is against the admission of surplus meat products of the three East European countries to the West European market, political observers believe.

Latin America & Caribbean

Moscow To 'Reinterpret' Relations With Cuba

OW1209095791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0300 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet Union will shortly withdraw 11,000 servicemen from Cuba, said Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev at a joint press-conference with the US Secretary of State James Baker in Moscow. The unit the Soviet Union plans to withdraw is "a Soviet military training brigade," said Mr. Gorbachev.

The Soviet president also announced that the USSR planned to reinterpret its relations with Cuba "within the context of mutually beneficial cooperation, first of all in the field of trade and economy."

3,000 Military Trainers To Remain in Cuba

LD1109172591 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—According to specified data, the strength of the Soviet military training team staying in Cuba is slightly more than 3,000 people.

This information was obtained by TASS from authoritative sources.

Troops in Cuba 'Obstacle' to Improved U.S. Ties

PM1209092291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1604 GMT 12 Sep 91

["TASS Observer on Decision To Withdraw Troops From Cuba"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (TASS)—Speaking at a press conference held jointly with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, USSR President M.S. Gorbachev reported that the Soviet Union intends to begin talks with Cuba in the very near future on withdrawing the Soviet training brigade from that country. He expressed the view that talks with the Cuban leadership about this "would not take many months".

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Gennadiy Petrov, TASS observer on international affairs, writes:

The Soviet president's report is being seen as a sensation abroad even though the measure that has been announced is a logical step following the recently held Soviet-U.S. satellite linkup in which the presidents of the USSR and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic took part and during which Boris Yeltsin's statement on the forthcoming withdrawal of Soviet units from Cuba was heard for the first time.

The fact is that the presence of a Soviet military contingent on the island acts is a serious obstacle to further developing relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, something in which all countries have an objective interest. Moreover, Washington has linked this issue on more than one occasion to granting us considerable economic aid.

The Cuban authorities believe that the Soviet brigade's presence is an important deterrent in the face of potential armed U.S. aggression. I remind you that such aggression did take place in the Bay of Pigs, 30 years ago.

Apprehension grew in Cuba following the U.S. soldiers' invasion of Panama and the armed action in the Persian Gulf.

To what extent is such alarm justified? It would seem that a great deal depends on how the said decision is implemented. In particular, the question arises as to whether the Pentagon will give up the Guantanamo naval base as Cuba has long insisted and whether the White House will provide guarantees that no military action will be taken against the island. However this may be, the planned withdrawal of Soviet soldiers from a distant island in the Caribbean, accompanied by a show of goodwill on the part of the United States is a timely step in keeping with the renunciation of East-West conflict and the settlement of regional conflicts by negotiation.

Cuba Censors Yeltsin Remarks on Troop Withdrawal

PM1109142291 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 91 p 5

[TASS report: "Yeltsin Was Not Seen in Cuba..."]

[Text] The report of the Soviet-U.S. television linkup with the participation of the presidents of the USSR and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], in which Boris Yeltsin made his statement on the upcoming gradual Soviet troop withdrawal from Cuba, took the Cuban mass media unaware. The evening news program on local television ignored this statement of fundamental importance and included in the report just the Soviet president's relatively neutral words to the effect that Soviet-Cuban relations are now "being transformed and assuming an economically mutually advantageous nature."

The rigid censorship of the Russian leader's statements is undoubtedly linked to the Cuban leadership's temporizing stance against the background of the snowballing development of events in the USSR in recent weeks.

The question of the troop withdrawal is extremely painful for the local authorities. The presence of the Soviet military contingent in Cuba was, on the one hand, for many years a factor restraining potentially possible U.S. aggression against the republic. The Cuban leadership still maintains that Washington might venture such a step after the successful operations in Panama and the Persian Gulf region.

Observers are now asking whether the troop withdrawal will be a unilateral action by the Soviet leadership or whether talks will be held with the United States in the very near future with regard to granting Cuba guarantees of security and possible "goodwill" steps in return on Washington's part. Another question: Will such talks be bilateral or trilateral—with Cuba's participation? In the opinion of observers, the U.S. renunciation of the preservation of the naval base close to the Cuban city of Guantanamo could be such an extremely timely step in return.

Cuba News Conference Said Warning to Dissidents

PM1209104791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7

[A. Kamorin report: "Cuba's State Security Department Cautions Dissidents"]

[Text] Havana—Cuban counterintelligence staffers do not often appear before journalists, and therefore the press conference called in Havana by State Security Colonel Eduardo Delgado Rodriguez attached special interest.

The pretext for the meeting was a message sent by Carlos Alberto Montaner, a Cuban emigre leader, to the most prominent figures of the civil rights movement on the island—Gustavo Arcos Bernes, Maria Elena Cruz, Elisardo Sanchez, Roberto Luque Escalona, and Osvaldo Paya Sardinez. Naturally, this letter was not intended to come to the notice of the relevant organs and was secretly delivered to Cuba by Javier Domingo, the well known Spanish journalist. According to Colonel Delgado, the letter was passed to state security staffers "by Spanish friends of the Cuban revolution," whom he refused to name, of course.

The content of the message, in a nutshell, is this. Montaner, one of the leaders of the "Democratic Platform," which unites emigre organizations advocating broad political dialogue with a view to bringing about reforms on the island, proposed to the civil rights leaders that they set up a similar alliance in Cuba itself. For this purpose the recipients are advised to establish inside the country parties already united in the Democratic Platform abroad—a Liberal Party, a Social Democratic Party, and a Christian Democratic Party. Apart from everything else, this step would, in Montaner's opinion, make it possible to intensify moral and material support to the Cuban opposition forces from corresponding international organizations, such as the Socialist International, for example.

The aims of the alliance which is to unite the uncoordinated efforts of the dissident civil rights champions under the banner of an overt political opposition are defined quite clearly in the letter: "It is reasonable to assume that Castroism has entered its final phase. The ideological failure and the unprecedented economic crisis will inevitably lead to the elimination of the dictatorship. However, there are at least two scenarios leading to this end—a military coup, or political struggle. If a coup takes place, we will have to demand from the winners exactly what we are demanding from Castro today. In particular, the restoration of the people's constitutional freedoms, and the holding of free multiparty elections under international supervision, which may be preceded by a universal referendum."

In Cuba any step directed at the implementation of this task will be viewed as a crime. Let me recall that the republic's constitution recognizes the existence of only one party, the Communist Party, proclaimed to be the

"leading and directing force." It is true that to receive a letter containing proposals like these is not considered a crime and, as Colonel Delgado assured the journalists, all its recipients are at liberty today.

The State Security Department statement read out at the press conference indicates that Montaner's letter is being made public in order "to prove once again the fraudulence of the so-called opposition, which is kept alive artificially, for external use only."

It is true, however, that my colleagues in Havana were somewhat astonished that such a representative press conference was organized solely to discuss a letter from an albeit well known emigre addressed to "grouplets and individuals who are of no importance and lack the support of the Cuban people"—as the statement puts it. It is entirely possible that in the current crisis which is affecting the republic, the state security organs have decided to warn publicly, for all the world to hear, both the dissidents and their allies abroad about the possible consequences of "actions which may complicate the domestic situation in Cuba." Colonel Delgado declared: "It would be stupid to deny that our society is not uniform and that many people do not share the views of the majority. However, we can claim with the utmost responsibility, aware of the Cubans' political mood, that there are three things with which the majority agrees. They are the party, socialism, and Fidel." Judging by appearances, even at a time of great changes, this majority intends to remain overwhelming...

Information Sought on Soviets Detained in Salvador

LD0909070191 Moscow TASS in English 0649 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Dmitriyev]

[Text] Managua September 9 TASS—In connection with a report by the Mexican news agency NOTIMEX about the detention of two Soviet citizens during an alleged attempt to infiltrate Salvadoran territory from Nicaragua, TASS has contacted the Soviet Embassy in Nicaragua for details.

The embassy's press attache said "all Soviet citizens and employees of Soviet institutions in Nicaragua are on their places. The Soviet Embassy in Nicaragua is taking all measures to obtain details of the report distributed by NOTIMEX."

The Soviet Union and El Salvador do not have diplomatic relations.

Congress of People's Deputies

Denisov Discusses Transition, Future of Union

PM1009140391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Interview with USSR People's Deputy A. Denisov by parliamentary observer M. Buzhkevich under "Glance Into the Future" rubric—date, place not given; first paragraph is introduction: "Does the Union Have a Future? Undoubtedly!"]

[Text] The Extraordinary Fifth Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which has just finished, is assessed variously both by those who took part in it and those who observed the progress of the sessions on television and read the newspaper reports. Some speak of a victory for democracy and important steps toward stabilizing the situation in the country. Others, on the contrary, believe that democracy was trampled underfoot at the congress, and that the congress' decisions "buried" the Soviet Union as a unitary federative state. And, finally, there are quite a few people who were indifferent toward the work of the congress, having lost belief in the possibilities of improving the life of the people: After all, they have heard so many promises in the years of perestroyka that they have ceased to believe any leaders. PRAVDA's parliamentary observer M. Buzhkevich talks to USSR People's Deputy A. Denisov about the reasons for this divergence in evaluations of the outcome of the congress and about its results.

[Buzhkevich] The president said in closing the last sitting that the congress had risen to the occasion in this crucial historical moment in the state's development. Do you share this opinion, Anatoliy Alekseyevich?

[Denisov] In principle, yes. Any unbiased person understands that the decisions adopted by the congress will bring about significant changes both in the state itself and in the life of its peoples. But it is not a matter of indifference for people as to how these decisions were worked out, how they will be implemented, and through what methods. After all, no one has yet rejected one of the the main tasks of perestroyka—creating a rule-of-law state.

[Buzhkevich] You are probably thinking of the opinion expressed by several deputies—A. Obolenskiy, A. Shchelkanov, and others—that the statement by the country's president and the top leaders of the union republics, the way the congress' agenda was set, and the course of the discussions were themselves a long way from abiding by the principles of democracy and the USSR Constitution?

[Denisov] Yes, that as well. It would have been better if the basic "rules of the game" had been observed. But here the peculiarities of the period we are living through must be borne in mind. Democracy develops in stable regimes. When, however, different kinds of breakup, or as we say, perestroyka, are underway, then democracy in the broad sense cannot operate. Strong-arm methods come to the fore, because it is important to achieve results more quickly. And democracy, pluralism, clash of opinions, and endless disputes in the parliaments and the soviets only put a brake on this. It is for this reason that, for example, the members of "Democratic Russia," having come to power, have begun to confirm mayors, prefects, and so forth. A move away from representative democracy to the dictatorship of the executive power is thereby taking place. The latter, as has happened with us more than once, has begun to "garner in" under itself the legislative organs.

[Buzhkevich] One deputy, evidently expressing this trend, said that a legislative organ is not necessary at all in the transitional period.

[Denisov] I think that he is mistaken. In the final analysis this was understood by everyone at the congress: by "left-wingers" and "right-wingers," democrats, conservatives, and so forth. That is why the Supreme Soviet, whose dissolution was eagerly sought by many, has remained in place. Moreover, having been constituted on new principles, it receives the right to amend the Constitution. But as always happens when decisions are worked out in a hurry (and this was a characteristic of the preparation of the congress), several factors arise which manifestly contravene the Basic Law. I cite just one example: Now a sitting of the highest legislative organ will be opened by... the head of the executive power—the country's president. This is a nonsense from the legal point of view, but it is logical from the standpoint of the prevailing situation, where there is no chairman of the Supreme Soviet. Besides, as I have said already, this is what always happens in a period of the active breakdown of a system. New forms are arising which the existing Constitution could not have foreseen, and which are in this sense anticonstitutional. Take, for example, the upper chamber of the renewed parliament—the Council of the Republics. It is constituted according to rules which are unusual for us. People's deputies of the republics—whom nobody elected to the Union parliament—are included in it on an equal footing with USSR people's deputies. Furthermore, how will this chamber adopt decisions—by a majority of votes, or by consensus of the deputies? In the first case the interests of republics which have quite a large population in comparison with that of others are patently infringed. Or take the State Council, which consists of the president of the country and the top officials of the union republics designated in the Constitution. It is being set up for the coordinated solution of questions of internal and foreign policy which concern their common interests. In general, I am troubled by the fact that this council, which is led by the country's president, determines for itself the procedure of its own activity, and its decisions are of a binding nature. You will agree that there is quite a whiff of group dictatorship. But on mature reflection, I still think this rigid "structure" is, evidently, necessary for the transitional period.

In short, many questions arise. They must be solved by the new Union treaty. Then the Constitution will also

change, because, as we know, it will record and enshrine the status quo—the situation that already exists.

[Buzhkevich] Mention was frequently made at the congress itself and in its decisions of a transitional period. Is this period limited by a fixed timetable?

[Denisov] As as I understand it, this period began from the moment the congress closed, and will finish after the election of the new organs of power. What these organs will be will again be decided by the Union treaty.

[Buzhkevich] All the signs suggest that the contents of this treaty will differ markedly from the text of the Novo-Ogarevo version?

[Denisov] Yes. And for this we are "obliged" to Yanayev's band of putschists. Their ingloriously failed coup objectively intensified the centrifugal tendencies in the republics and weakened the positions of the center. How this will influence the country's future, time alone will tell. Possibly, when they have gone their separate ways to a certain degree, the republics will begin quite quickly to integrate themselves into a renewed federative state.

There is no doubt that the Union will be preserved. Nor is there any doubt that it is going to undergo serious modification. Each republic will define the form of its participation in it. Some will want to join the single economic space and will conclude treaties on currency and financial, and scientific and technical cooperation, on collective security and defense with the preservation of unified Armed Forces and common control of nuclear arsenals. (It is for this that a Center is required, that is to say, all-state organs coordinating the efforts of the republics). Others, however, will limit themselves to economic or trade cooperation only. In short, some republics will join the renewed Union as federative, and some as confederative, or even associate members. It is obvious that—true to ourselves—we are beginning a new experiment. What will come of this only time will tell.

[Buzhkevich] Our people have heard their fill, as the saying goes, of promises of a bright future. People are not interested in a remote time, but in today and tomorrow. How will the political and economic decisions adopted by the congress, in your opinion, enable the country to get through the winter more or less satisfactorily?

[Denisov] Nowadays many people are scaring others with the prospect of a cold and hungry winter. And not without grounds. The harvest this year is not as good as it has been, and the harvesting process is proceeding with difficulty. Everything depends on preserving the, as yet shaky, concord between the republics, and, at the same time, on the work of every individual. I am impressed by the decisiveness of I. Silayev and his temporary committee, which is taking steps to revive the country's single economic space. It would be good if the Interrepublic Economic Committee, which is being set up on the basis of the law that the congress adopted on the organs of USSR state power and management in the transitional period, were to continue this line and ensure the coordination of the management of the national economy, and carry out economic and social reforms. And above all it is necessary to keep a single currency and a single customs space.

We can see that the central state economic structures have been destroyed. Therefore it is important to open the doors to free enterprise. In many countries which have experienced economic crisis it is this that has helped them to come out of a downturn in production. Here it is appropriate to remark: There has been some distortion in our country—for some reason, in speaking of free enterprise, people are thinking of the private businessman. His role in small business and in the privatization of the trade and service sphere is, of course, decisive. But the large enterprises should be in the hands of firms, associations, and companies which lease them from the state. The more rapidly such entrepreneurial activity develops and gets off the ground, the sooner we will cross the "barrier zone" on the road to the free market. First let us stabilize, and then begin increasing production. If only concord between the different forces in society and their desire to bring the transformations that have begun to their logical conclusion can be consolidated! Then our Union too will be reborn.

Tarazevich on Ethnic Minorities' Rights

PM0909104991 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Interview with G.S. Tarazevich, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations, by N. Garifullina during a recess at the Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies in Moscow; date of interview not stated; first two paragraphs are introduction: "Urgent! As a Result of the Union's Disintegration, Millions of Compatriots Will Find Themselves Living Abroad. Who Will Defend Their Rights?"]

[Text] The tragic events in August have accelerated the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and that which until only yesterday, according to all forecasts, should have taken several years is today occurring within a matter of days. Union property is coming under the jurisdiction of the republics without previous agreements and talks, that is to say without prior arrangement. One republic after another is declaring its independence and withdrawal from the "Soviet empire." For some people this means gaining long-awaited freedom and independence from the USSR, but for many thousands and millions of people who now find themselves "abroad" it means a sense of uncertainty, fear of what the future holds, grief, and drama.

G.S. Tarazevich, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations, and I talked about this during a recess at the congress.

[Garifullina] Georgiy Stanislavovich, will the congress be examining the question of recognizing the independence of the three Baltic republics—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—or, as lobby rumor has it, must we wait for a decree from the USSR president on this matter?

[Tarazevich] I hope that the congress will make this decision. It is hard to say in what form it will be expressed. I only know that this question was included on the congress agenda following a USSR Supreme Soviet decision that was actually recommended by our commission. But, as you know, the agenda was changed. I cannot rule out that this act might be adopted in a decree by the USSR president, because the question really has come to a head. So if a decree is forthcoming, if not today then tomorrow, there is no need for the congress to examine it.

[Garifullina] What future measures will be taken to safeguard the civil rights of Russians and all our compatriots who by the will of fate have lived and worked for decades in Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and other republics, but who are now forced to adopt the status of emigres in their own country?

[Tarazevich] Yes, this is perhaps one of the most complex and urgent problems that has to be examined and resolved in the course of the talks process connected with the changes in relations between the republics you have named, the Union, and the country's other republics. As far as I know, the Baltic republics have already committed themselves to fulfilling all international legal acts relating to human rights. Subsequently, I think, this question will be the subject of talks between plenipotentiary delegations. It seems that if a decision is made at the congress—and I hope that this is what will happen—then either the congress itself will set up a plenipotentiary delegation to hold talks with delegations from the Baltic republics, or it will issue an appropriate instruction to settle all the problems arising as a result of the changes that are taking place.

Incidentally, our commission wrote to the parliaments of these three republics with a request and a hope that they would guarantee human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities, and that they would observe all international acts relating to humanitarian problems. I assume that resettlement problems will arise during the talks process, since some groups and categories of citizens will decide to leave these republics. So we shall have to establish certain procedures, accords, and terms of mutual resettlement.

[Garifullina] What do you mean by "mutual?"

[Tarazevich] You see, we are not ruling out the fact that there might be certain categories of citizens, for example people of Lithuanian, Latvian, or Estonian nationality, who are living in other Union republics and may wish to return to their motherland. This will also be the subject of talks, agreements, and mutual undertakings between the Baltic republics, other republics, and the Union as a whole.

[Garifullina] One of the most "heated" questions is that of borders. After all, in some quarters there have already been calls for their revision, which has caused alarm in society. Everyone is now so tired of conflicts and upheavals...

[Tarazevich] When we found out that this question might be included on the congress agenda, we discussed border problems within the framework of the Belorussian delegation. The position on this matter is as follows. In accordance with the USSR Constitution currently in force, if, for example, this very situation arises on the borders between Latvia and Belorussia, Lithuania and Belorussia, and so on, it will form the subject of talks and accords between contiguous republics.

[Garifullina] This is if we are talking about internal borders. But what about the USSR's external borders?

[Tarazevich] External borders will form the subject of talks between a Union delegation and the republic in question.

[Garifullina] But how can this be in view of the Helsinki agreements, which recognized the immutability of borders after World War II?

[Tarazevich] Nothing ever remains absolutely immutable in the world. Processes and changes occur every day, this has to be taken into account...

Political & Social

Putsch Prosecutors To Call Gorbachev To Testify

LD1109132191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1215 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Zenkovich]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (TASS)—"Like any citizen of the country, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev is obliged to give evidence in the case of the state coup," Aleksey Sevostyanov, a spokesman for the Russian procurator's office press service, told the TASS correspondent.

He said that the USSR president will be called as a witness in the case. An exact date of the questioning has not yet been determined but will be set by the investigation.

Ten Putsch Suspects Plead 'Not Guilty'

LD1109123591 Moscow TASS in English 1203 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS Correspondent Vyacheslav Zenkovich]

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Ten of 14 people arrested in connection with the failed coup in the Soviet Union have pleaded not guilty, but nine of them testify. One person has fully confessed and three have pleaded partially guilty, according to the Russian Prosecutor's Office press service.

Quoting lawyers, the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA reports today that former Soviet Parliament head Anatoliy Lukyanov refuses to testify.

Vice-President of the International Union of Lawyers Genrikh Padva defending Lukyanov, on Sunday left for France. Padva is heading a group of young Soviet lawyers, in France for a three-week training session.

Changes in Internal Affairs Ministry Discussed

LD1109164191

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian at 0900 GMT on 11 September broadcasts a 3 minute interview with correspondent Yuliya Chertkova by an unidentified presenter. They talk in the studio, among other things, about the news conference held yesterday by USSR Internal Affairs Minister V. P. Barannikov.

An unidentified presenter asks the correspondent: "What are your main impressions. First of all, the question is this: Will a union ministry exist and in what form?"

Chertkova replies: "A union ministry will exist. It would be too hasty even for our state to eliminate the only center for combating crime at a time when that crime is carried out by united groups, and one bandit grouping or another is often made up of representatives of the same nationality. But naturally, there will be very great cutbacks in the Ministry of Internal Affairs," she says, noting that the republics may be able to order manpower from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to help them investigate crimes if they do not have a great enough force of their own.

Asked if she knows anything about Pugo's suicide other than what has been published in the central press, or about Pugo's wife, Chertkova replies: "She is alive. The latest report is that she is supposed to be alive—naturally, no journalist has trustworthy information, so to speak, but the details, from what I know, are such: it really was a suicide, there can't be any talk of murder—such information appeared in some newspapers. Pugo prepared for this suicide in advance; in any event he wrote a suicide note before he shot himself and shot—tried to shoot his wife. Moreover, 40 minutes before the suicide he phoned an acquaintance—his name is being kept secret—and essentially took his leave of him. But it was like this: Ivanenko, deputy chairman of the Committee for State Security of Russia, phoned Pugo 15 minutes before his arrival and in those 15 minutes Pugo drew his conclusions and decided to commit suicide."

When asked about General Komissarov, Chertkova says that Barannikov said yesterday that when he was still minister of internal affairs of Russia, he signed a decree on Komissarov's appointment and that there was no reason to revoke it.

Asked about recent report in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, to the effect that the machinegun which had been used in the killing of Lithuanian customs officers had been found, she replied that Barannikov said yesterday that it was, in fact, not the weapon, and that the investigation into the murders is continuing.

In conclusion Chertkova says: "The procurator of Lithuania has been given permission to question Yazov and Kryuchkov on their participation in the events of January of this year."

Sobchak Interviewed on Union Issue

LD1109162591 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—In an interview to TASS, Mayor of St. Petersburg Anatoly Sobchak said that as head of the municipal authorities he had always been striving to establish a dialogue between various political forces and resolve arising conflicts in a peaceful way.

Sobchak said that rallies of monarchists, anarchists, socialists, communists and democrats are held in the city on the Neva. The population shows a keen interest in politics, but their activity is in the framework of civilised relations.

Sobchak favours the consolidation of executive power in the city on a representative basis. Its head should be elected by the population.

The municipal council should consist of a small number of people and should be working on a permanent basis. It should control the executive authorities, decide budgetary matters and adopt city laws.

The mayor believes that local bodies in Russia should best be re- elected as early as in November. Fewer deputies should be elected and municipal councils should replace soviets. Staffers on the municipal councils should work as professionals.

Sobchak sees the danger in republics and regions disrupting the existing ties. Large cities with a population of 1 million and more can be affected by irregularities in supply. If there is famine somewhere, the reasons will be political, not economic.

In view of this, Sobchak believes that it is very important to conclude an economic union as soon as possible and to ensure the normal flow of goods, first of all food products. If Georgia, for instance, is not supplied with grain by Russia, Kazakhstan or the Ukraine, it will be doomed to famine. If the Tbilisi leaders disrupt the existing ties, the republic will be left without grain, oil and electricity.

On the other hand, the Ukraine can sell its surplus farm produce only to other regions of the USSR, since its products are uncompetitive on foreign markets.

Sobchak is also concerned over the tendency of transferring the powers of central authorities to republics and of republican leaders conducting tougher administrative policy than before with regard to local bodies and national minorities.

He said it is extremely dangerous when the methods of a totalitarian states are picked up by republics. What is more, the vestiges of feudal-communist structures are still stronger in some of these republics.

If they achieve independence too swiftly, there is a risk that instead of leading to genuine democracy, this will only result in the reinforcement of such structures. Republics should first of all care for the observance of their own laws and of human rights in their territories.

If after the USSR's disintegration we wish to preserve or create a single political, economic and military-strategic zone, whether it is called a confederation or a commonwealth, a president should be elected by the whole people. Then he will be able to ensure consensus in resolving problems in the competence of the union.

If a president is appointed by representatives of republics, he will not have his own basis of power and sufficient prestige, even as a coordinator and arbiter.

Experience will show who will be nominated for presidency. First it is necessary to conclude a Union Treaty and draft the text of the new constitution or the declaration for the formation of the union of sovereign states.

Those who begin to compete for the presidency even before the elections are fixed, are in for disappointment. We have the president now, and instead of trying to guess who will be next, it is better to assist him in creating effective structures of power, sobchak said.

Investigation Into CPSU Archives Continues

LD1209041591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] The State Committee for the Issues of Archives under the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers continues to take over the CPSU Central Committee's archives. It has become clear, however, that many documents have already been destroyed. Our correspondent Ilya Kopelevich has the details:

[Kopelevich] Professor Rudolf Pekhoya, chairman of the State Committee for the issues of archives, and Vladimir Tyuneyev, his first deputy, took us along the corridors of special archive storages of the CPSU Central Committee today.

According to preliminary estimates, up to 30 million various documents had been kept here in an atmosphere of complete secrecy. Access to the archives had been forbidden not only to scientists and representatives of the public but to Central Committee staff themselves, too. Staff of various sectors of the archive did not have the slightest idea of what their colleagues in the neighboring sector did and kept.

Meanwhile, Rudolf Pekhoya said, the true archive of the Soviet Government is here. One has failed to learn any specific details about the mysteries preserved in numerous safes for the time being. Currently archive workers are collecting the documents and papers found in the offices of this enormous group of buildings. A proportion of them has been destroyed, though, judging by the sacks of shredded paper that have been found.

Procuracy staff investigating the case of attempted coup d'etat have already visited some offices. They requested some documents from storage; however, journalists were not told what documents precisely, since this is a secret of the investigation. There have been requests not only from our country but also from our recent allies in Eastern Europe. In order to accelerate matters the records should be left where they are. Then, Rudolf Pekhoya said, we will be able to open up the archives for the public in three months.

But a final decision on transferring the archives together with the premises, which is very important, to the State Committee has not been made yet. Ilya Kopelevich, information service.

Entrepreneurs To Aid Search for Funds

PM1109102991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by M. Berger: "Entrepreneurs Ready to Participate in Search for Party Money"]

[Text] At a press conference at the Moscow City Soviet, devoted to problems of party property (IZVESTIYA No. 204), it was noted that one of the main secrets of party assets is investments in commercial banks, including foreign ones, and the financing of joint ventures.

There is reason to hope that if not all, then many of the secrets in this sphere will be revealed. Representatives of the market economy recently declared their willingness to join in the search. And it is not a matter of abstract entrepreneurs who are prepared in principle to join in a search along the lines of "everyone join the fight to enhance labor productivity!" Very specific people and structures are joining in. Not long before the coup, an Entrepreneurs' Convention was set up in Moscow. The Russian Commodity and Raw Material Exchange, the Central Stock Exchange, the Military-Industrial Exchange, the Russian National Commercial Bank, and other widely and not so widely known firms and companies and public organizations intent on protecting business interests were behind it.

In accordance with its statutes, the Moscow Entrepreneurs' Convention [MEC] intends to oppose monopolism, protectionism, and unscrupulous competition, and to promote privatization processes. In fact, one of the

chief reasons for the setting up of the convention was the fear that the incipient privatization processes would become an enormous gravy train for party and state officials. Therefore, the committee to identify CPSU funds secretly invested in commercial ventures and real estate in the USSR and abroad was one of the first, perhaps one of the main MEC structures. The committee, which is made up of people with investigating experience, will operate (it has already started, in fact) independently and professionally, and the requisite funds have been made available.

Legality of Anti-CPSU 'Campaign' Challenged

PM1109105591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Article under the rubric "Lawyer's Opinion" by A. Petrushov featuring written replies by Professor V.S. Martemyanov, head of the Department of Civil and Economic Law of the Moscow Juridical Institute; first paragraph is editorial introduction: "When the Logic of Political Struggle Is Placed Above the Law"]

[Text] The political lexicon has recently acquired a new word—"suspension. " It was brought into circulation on 23 August by the decree to suspend the activity of the Communist Party. The thrust of this decision is so clear that even a hedgehog could understand it, as they say. The political motives are also obvious. Nevertheless, what does "suspension of activity" mean from the legal standpoint? To be blunt, it was not immediately possible to find anyone to answer. Some lawyers were very busy, others were "undecided," still others limited themselves to oral answers. Doctor of Historical Sciences, Prof V.S. Martemyanov, head of the Department of Civil and Economic Law at the Moscow Juridical Institute, answered the questions in writing (for which the editorial office thanks him).

[Martemyanov] Whatever else, I think that, apart from the logic of the political struggle, this act has no basis and does not correspond to any law. It contravenes the USSR Constitution and Union republics' constitutions. Now the Declaration of Human Rights and Freedoms has been published and this decree is invalid from the viewpoint of that document, too. Take Article 9 of the declaration. It begins: "Citizens have the right to join together in political parties and other social organizations and participate in mass movements." Does this act mean nothing for us today, then?

[Petrushov] The most radical figures believe that the justification was that some leaders of the CPSU took part in the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] plot.

[Martemyanov] I know of that view. But at the moment I am not clear which of them supported the plotters and to what extent. The majority of Communists generally found out what happened after the event. To sum up, there is a vast difference between the actions of individual leaders and the opinion of the party rank and file. In addition, cases are known in which many Communists openly condemned the putschists in the first few days.

My opinion is clear: There were and are no legitimate grounds for this act. The possibility of suspending the activity of political parties is allowed. When declaring a state of emergency so as to normalize a situation. Look at the USSR Law of 3 April 1990 "On the Legal Regime of the State of Emergency." But no one apart from the infamous SCSE has declared a state of emergency. So why suspend the activity of the Communist Party? What Communist Party actions are hindering the normalization of the situation?

[Petrushov] In some newspapers the question is put bluntly: "The CPSU must be outlawed." And individual journalists and politicians are drawing an analogy between the CPSU and the German National Socialist Party (A. Hitler's party). So that it should be treated similarly: in other words, eliminated, like the Nazi party.

[Martemyanov] The comparison is unfair. If you accept this opinion, which is backed by certain political tendencies, you would have to call fascists all those Communists who died on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War against Hitler's invaders and those who survived. Such a label would also have to be pinned on the millions of Communist men and women who worked 18 hours a day at the machines and on the farms so as to arm and feed the people. This despicable comparison, it turns out, is being applied to many present-day radicals who, in those years and since, were CPSU members, who led it, and who left the party only between one and three years ago.

[Petrushov] I have a recording of a telephone call to the editorial office from Petr Afanasyevich Biryukov from Kirovograd Oblast in the Ukraine. In 1949 he sent some poetry to a youth newspaper in Moscow. For some reason his verses found their way into Beria's office. He was taken away during the night of 28-29 August and sent to Chukotka. He was just 19 years old. He was rehabilitated in 1954. In 1966 he joined the CPSU. He worked as an engineer and an excavator operator. He rang to voice his indignation at the decree to suspend the party's activity. In his opinion, they missed a golden opportunity. The new authorities should rely on the Communists, but instead they are insulting them.

[Martemyanov] I understand that position.

[Petrushov] Valentin Semenovich, the editorial office has been receiving a host of telegrams and letters whose authors ask the same question: "Is the 'nationalization' of party property lawful?" Pavel Vasilyevich Sterligov, an engineer from Perm, asks: "The courts are moving into party rayon committee buildings. How will they be able to judge justly if they have committed such an injustice?"

[Martemyanov] The share-out of CPSU property that has now begun is a violation of the law. As a lawyer I am simply appalled at actions such as the drawing up of

inventories of party property, the extensive examination of finances, the closure of accounts, and so forth. The fact is that the Law "On Property in the USSR" (and the laws on property in the union republics) do not provide for the nationalization of anyone else's property. The confiscation of property as a form of punishment is not allowed in this instance either, because the party is not a subject with such liability. The USSR law of 9 October 1990 "On Public Associations" envisages that the property of a public association which has been wound up by decision of a court may be returned to state ownership without charge. But the CPSU (a public association) has not been wound up at the moment, it has merely been suspended. And only a court can wind up a party or a public association. In the case of the CPSU it must be the USSR Supreme Court. And it must observe the corresponding procedures. But where is the court decision? Where are those procedures?

[Petrushov] The explanation given is simple: A "great democratic revolution" has been accomplished, so all actions are neorevolutionary, especially when not everything to do with the acquisition of property in the party is absolutely pure.

[Martemyanov] As a citizen I admit that this is possible. And what is the outcome? Should we hold the law in contempt? Should we make a show of strength? No, we have too much experience of nationalizations, confiscations, and requisitions. It is no coincidence that recent laws abandoned that. Let me speak honestly: It is uncomfortable living in a country where people treat the law arbitrarily.

[Petrushov] "Give us back our membership subscriptions," Communists demand in their letters. "We will find people to give them to ourselves: orphans, people on invalidity pensions, mothers of large families." Tell me, are they entitled to make that demand?

[Martemyanov] They are. Even if the party is wound up there is no denying the fact the people with the prior claim to its property are those who created it. I am sure that ordinary Communists will say openly and publicly: Hands off other people's property. If our "leaders" were unable to do it, we ourselves will give the party's property to the people!

[Petrushov] The lawyer's view of the anticommunist campaign?

[Martemyanov] These are shameful excesses of the political struggle. The rights of millions of honest people are being violated. Once more, for the umpteenth time, tremendous harm is being done to the international prestige of the state in which first one group of forces, then another resorts not to the law but to brute force.

Communists Deny Underground Party

OW1209052091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Organizing Committee of the Party of Communists [PC] announced at a Moscow news conference on Wednesday that it was beginning to register all those willing to join the new party which would be based on the territorial principle and be guided by the program of the "Marxist Platform in the CPSU."

The PC founders denied that the party had been illegally formed on September 8. They said they would act in strict compliance with the Constitution, and described the ban on the CPSU activities as an "anti-constitutional" measure. Committee members did not rule out that they might be persecuted "for Communist activities."

The organizing committee distanced itself from the former CPSU leaders, including M. Gorbachev, and said it would work for "reliable social guarantees, higher living standards and national unity" and would do its best "to protect democracy from the antisocialist dictatorship." The Communists are ready "for fair political rivalry" and believe they have a good chance to succeed.

The news conference in Moscow involved Moscow researchers Vladimir Burdyugov and Anatoliy Kryuchkov, and the editor of NARODNAYA GAZETA Sergey Skvortsov.

Democratic Reform Movement Spokesman Interviewed

LD1109105191 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 0620 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Interview with Vladimir Fedorovskiy, spokesman of the USSR Movement for Democratic Reform, by correspondent Arnette Ardisson; place not given; Fedorovskiy speaks in French—live]

[Excerpts] [Ardisson] Good morning Vladimir Fedorovskiy: You are not unknown to France Inter listeners since you already came here when you were a spokesman for the Soviet Embassy in Paris.

[Fedorovskiy] A lot of things have changed since then.

[Ardisson] Exactly. Today you represent this Movement of Democratic Reforms, so this movement is famous through some great names: Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Sobchak. But besides the aura of these personalities is it something well established in the country? Does it really represent a force?

[Fedorovskiy] Naturally. First in Moscow, in Leningrad, in large towns, but besides that in Russia, since, as you know, we count among our number Russia's Prime Minister Silayev and Russia's Vice President Rutskoy—not only does he represent something personally since this was a formidable name during the difficult days of the defense of the White House against the putschists, Moscow's White House naturally, but with him there is a party which he founded some time ago.

[Ardisson] And in other republics?

[Fedorovskiy] In other republics naturally. In other republics I would not hide the fact that things are somehow unequal, but there are republics, Kyrgyzstan, for example, where it is very well established with, one must say, the support of the Kyrgyz president. I know that the Kazakh president, Nazarbayev, a very eminent politician in my country, is fully behind us so I believe genuinely that it is really well established, just as the vacuum left by the Communist Party after the putsch is also very real, as is the need to structure democratic public opinion.

[Ardisson] Could this movement transform itself into a party?

[Fedorovskiy] This is being debated among my Political Council. This is a possibility. In the long run it is unavoidable—if this is the question. You know, in principle the country is allergic to everything which is the party. I spoke at length with Mr. Geremek who is a wise man. He believes that for the time being it is better to remain a movement as was the case with Solidarity.

[Ardisson] So with your friends you are pleading for a form of union but when one sees these secessionist declarations multiply, when one sees what is happening in Georgia, in Azerbaijan, in Tajikistan, one has doubts. Is this not a mirage for Western help?

[Fedorovskiy] Not at all, it is not aimed at the Western world. It reflects an economic reality. We plead for and emphasize the need to maintain the common economic space, as we say in our jargon. [passage omitted]

[Ardisson] The new Soviet foreign minister, Mr. Pankin, is asking for $100 billion to develop the USSR, the equivalent of the cost of the Gulf War. But 100 billion for what? For transitional structures?

[Fedorovskiy] First, I believe that transitional structures should not be undervalued since transitional structures, which have been established thanks to last week's difficult compromise in the Supreme Soviet, are essential. They are the first step toward stability in this country. [passage omitted]

[Ardisson] Is there a risk of famine this winter, and thus a risk to democracy?

[Fedorovskiy] You know, I do not want to speak about this subject. Obviously the dangers threatening us this winter cannot be underestimated but I believe that the exit from the crisis can be found much more quickly than one thinks.

[Ardisson] With you own resources?

[Fedorovskiy] No certainly not, just the opposite. I believe that sooner or later one will have to design a general plan, a kind of Marshall Plan for the Soviet Union.

[Ardisson] Yes, but in the short term, winter is approaching fast.

[Fedorovskiy] In the short term, food aid and humanitarian aid will certainly have to be organized. I believe that the great western democracies are conscious of that and it will be done. [passage omitted]

[Ardisson] Francois Mitterrand will hold a news conference tomorrow. Obviously he will mention the problems of the USSR. What do you expect from him?

[Fedorovskiy] You know, one can expect a lot from the president of the Republic but I must say that we were very impressed by the support expressed by all the French people and by the support expressed by the president of the Republic in the difficult days of the putsch, in particular when he called the White House and we had direct contacts with people of different hues here. You know we felt the support of all the French people, people of different hues who came to see us, and that was very important.

[Ardisson] Exactly. You know well the twists and turns of French internal politics. What do you think of the Moscow trips of cabinet members on one side and, on the other, of opposition leaders attempting to attract the favors of Boris Yeltsin?

[Fedorovskiy] You know, as a francophile I am delighted by French subtleties but I must tell you that it is extremely important that the French came to us and it was extremely important that they were people of different hues. [passage omitted]

[Ardisson] One last word concerning the full discharge [quitus] given by Boris Yeltsin to Francois Mitterrand after there were obvious clouds. Don't you believe that the manner in which the full discharge was given was rather condescending?

[Fedorovskiy] You know I would never say that kind of word since French support was vital at that time, during the difficult hours of the putsch. We felt like that and certainly through the telephone calls of the president of the Republic when we were expecting the assault against the White House. I believe that it strengthened our traditional friendship and it is a good guarantee for the future.

Declaration of Human Rights and Freedoms Examined

PM1109094191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

["Point of View" article by Viktor Shirokov: "Shine On, My Star"]

[Text] The first thing that we, the staff of PRAVDA, decided when founding our independent newspaper was: From now on we would print virtually no quasi-official material. How many of these resolutions, decisions, reports, and texts of all manner of laws passed through the pages of the old PRAVDA—untold thousands. And where are they today? But the decision to publish this document was unanimous. The text of the Declaration of

Human Rights and Freedoms, published in our newspaper's previous issue, carries such a mighty moral and legal charge that it is simply impossible to overlook it. If not for the present's sake, then at least for the future's sake...

Why did I doubt the immediate efficacy of the declaration? I think that the older generation and middle-aged people will understand me. They still can recall the "Stalin" and "Brezhnev" Constitutions, which generously bestowed masses of rights on Soviet men and women.

And here is yet another declaration—a document which was apparently supposed to stun everyone with its democratic nature, the obvious and indisputable nature of the rights and freedoms that belong inalienably to every person from the cradle to the grave. It did not do so. Either because of the skepticism instilled into us over decades by the system, or because of the absorption in the political passions and struggles in which we have been submerged up to our eyeballs in recent years and months.

Incidentally, at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies the discussion of the declaration passed off apathetically, as if of secondary importance. The economic fiasco of a once great power blocked everything else out.

Besides, in these fervently seething times the articles of this document look somewhat starry-eyed. Let us take just a few of them. For example, Article 4 proclaims: "Every person is guaranteed the right to use his native language, to be educated in his native language, and to conserve and develop his national culture..." This is at a time when in some republics the number of faculties where teaching is conducted in Russian is being deliberately reduced.

Or Article 6, which proclaims every person's right to freedom of speech, to unhindered expression of his opinions and convictions, and their dissemination in oral or written form. The events of recent days, when Communist publications were arbitrarily and peremptorily shut down, when an administrative noose was thrown around their financial accounts and material bases, speak for themselves.

And your eyes really pop out when you study Article 21, which proclaims the right to freedom of movement within the country and to choice of residence and abode. What about our feudal system of residence permits! As for the second part of the article, on the ability to "leave one's country and return to it," you immediately recall the months-long (and sometimes around the clock) vigil by citizens at currency exchange centers, as a result of which they recieve money sufficient only to obtain cans of dog food in supermarkets abroad.

And yet, and yet... We—who until recently read the Universal Declaration of Human Rights virtually in underground versions, and for whom bills of rights and freedoms seemed some kind of extraterrestrial utopia—today hold in our hands a document that has been executed and ratified at state level, and whose execution is henceforth mandatory. A document which should become the cornerstone of a future Constitution.

Yes, this declaration today still lacks real content. There is a gap that is difficult to bridge between our everyday life and what is posited by the articles of the declaration. But now we actually have it! It is like the pole star for a traveler setting off on a long journey. He will check his course against this star. A course worth fighting for. As Hegel said: "...We must yearn for something great, but it is also necessary to be able to accomplish something great; otherwise you have just empty wishes. The laurels of wishes alone are withered leaves which were never green."

Whether or not the tree of our declaration will spring green leaves depends on us.

Attitudes on Change To Market Economy Surveyed

OW1209080191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0630 GMT 12 Sep 91

[From the "Viewpoint" feature: "Support Transition To Market"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Most Soviets support a transition to a market economy, according to the results of a poll conducted by the National Opinion Studies Centre (VCIOM) in July of this year among 3,003 respondents. Of them, 65% were firmly supportive of a transition to a market, says news agency DATA.

23% of the respondents opposed the transition, and 12% did not know what to answer.

41% favoured a gradual transition to the market.

23% were in favour of an immediate transition.

19% of the respondents were of the opinion that the economy did not need to be restructured along market lines and that all that was required was to improve the management of the national economy.

17% were hard put to answer on the ways to progress toward the market.

Margin of error: 3%.

KGB Said To Have Planned for Mass Arrests

91UF1142A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 91 Union edition p 8

[Article by S. Mostovshchikov: "The Coup Did Not Affect the Portraits of Gorbachev in Lefortovo Prison"]

[Text] **The role of the USSR Committee for State Security in the coup d'etat is still not entirely clear. One can only guess what kinds of tasks that department intended to execute. Judging by rumors, to this day public opinion is inclined to suspect the committee of preparing mass**

arrests in the country. According to data at the disposal of IZVESTIYA, on 19 August, the day of the beginning of the coup d'etat, there were about 400 empty places in Lefortovo Prison, the investigation detention facility of the USSR KGB; in other words there were practically two floors of cells not occupied by prisoners.

In the words of the chief of the detention facility, in recent years on a steady basis his institution has only been one-third filled with people under investigation. As a result the Lefortovo Prison was in a position to receive instructions from the leadership of the KGB to finish as quickly as possible repairs conducted during the summer on a significant portion of the uninhabited cells and to prepare to receive an additional contingent of prisoners. However the chief of Lefortovo Prison did not hurry to complete the repairs and did not take from the wall of his office the portrait of Mikhail Gorbachev, removed from power under pretense of illness.

If mass political arrests were in fact being prepared in the USSR, then there is no need to look for a better place to hold the prisoners than Lefortovo. Despite its fairly humane conditions for holding prisoners, the SIZO [Investigative Detention Center] of the KGB is known for the fact that it guarantees practically complete isolation of the prisoners and rules out the opportunity for leakage of information. The staff of the jail, dealing daily with the elite of the Soviet criminal world—representatives of the international drug business, smugglers, and spies—enjoy a reputation of being absolutely reliable. According to existing information, the guards here have been offered bribes of up to $200,000, but the administration insists that there has not been one instance of betrayal. The guards even inform the administration if the prisoners try to offer them cigarettes. In addition, Lefortovo is known for the fact that within the walls of that jail it is practically impossible to commit suicide.

The head of the KGB SIZO acknowledges that he was genuinely alarmed on the morning of 19 August. Appearing at work, he began a detailed study of the USSR Law on a State of Emergency. But even a cursory analysis showed that the law did not fit the events taking place. The head of the detention center then went to the investigative administration of the KGB located next door, where he compelled one of the leaders of the administration to study that same law. From his colleague he managed to learn that, for the present, they were not preparing any of the documents necessary for sending anyone to Lefortovo Prison and had not received any instructions on that score.

In this fashion the three days of the coup passed relatively peacefully. Newspapers were handed out to the prisoners, and in their free time the staff never left their televisions. Prisoners who signed up for an audience with the head of the prison were accepted and, during the conversations, often looked at the portrait of Gorbachev affixed on the wall as at a kind of guarantee of stability. There were no riots or rebellions in the cells, but it was necessary periodically to reinforce the guard at all the entrances of the prison inasmuch as the head of the Lefortovo detention center had learned that people were supposedly preparing to storm his institution.

There were no raids, however, and after the reports on the arrests of the former leaders of the state there was an opinion at the KGB SIZO that some of the conspirators would probably be brought to Lefortovo. But no one was brought because, as should have been expected, the Committee of State Security and its structures had ceased to enjoy the people's trust. It is possible that there would not be any prisons giving rise to suspicion in the USSR if the jails were not divided up between the militia, the KGB, and whatever else but instead were put under the jurisdiction of a single federal administration of investigative detention centers, prisons, and camps...

But that, of course, is a matter for the future, and for the time being Lefortovo Prison belongs to the KGB system with all the resulting consequences. It probably would not even be worth our reporting on the information of the administration of the SIZO concerning what happened behind the prison walls but for the fact that it coincides with reports from the prisoners of Lefortovo. Prior to the putsch Valeriya Novodvorskaya, accused of calling for the forcible overthrow of the existing system and freed after the putsch in view of a modification in her preventive punishment, was brought to the KGB SIZO. In her notes, published later in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, Novodvorskaya stated that they treated her quite well in the prison and she cited her observations concerning the reactions of the staff of the prison toward the coup. The revolutionary, as she calls herself, reports that the employees of Lefortovo reacted negatively to the putsch.

Karbainov's Statements on KGB Critiqued

91UF1122A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 31 Aug 91 p 2

[Interview with Major General A. Karbainov, chief of the USSR KGB Center for Public Liaison, by Aleksandr Morgin in Karbainov's office; date not given; followed by commentary by Aleksandr Nadhzarov: "What Is Happening at the Lubyanka? Further Democratization, Says the Chief of the USSR KGB Center for Public Liaison"]

[Text] *At present, the Lubyanka is a magnet for a journalist's pilgrimage. Major General A. Karbainov, chief of the USSR KGB Center for Public Liaison, who is forced to give six to seven interviews per day, has it particularly hard. From the window of his office he has a good view of the orphaned base of the monument to "Iron Feliks" covered in a multitude of inscriptions, the kindest of which is "Down with the KGB!"*

The general said: "Despite the fact that our chairman was among the ringleaders of the recent putsch, the process of democratization did not bypass the organs of state security. Actually, the Center for Public Liaison

was set up a year and a half ago, incidentally, on the personal initiative of Kryuchkov.

[Morgin] Are you not afraid that the name of the founder will put a cloud over the activities of the center?

[Karbainov] No. The role of the center in removing the veil of secrecy which shrouded the KGB for decades is all too evident. If you recall, Kryuchkov himself liked to meet with journalists and representatives of the labor collectives of enterprises and offices. In a word, he appeared open and accessible. I am not convinced that this was a kind of craftiness on his part. It is just that this individual was dominated by the ethics of a totalitarian state, which is what the Soviet Union has been for as long as it has existed. Kryuchkov was ultimately unable to overcome himself. He interpreted even perestroyka with its democratic principles his own way, as evidenced by the attempted coup. Along with other plotters who spoke in the name of the people, our former chairman clearly let his opinion that someone should definitely think and make decisions for the people be known.

[Morgin] It appears that everything is clear as far as Kryuchkov is concerned. What is going to happen to the inheritance he left?

[Karbainov] I will say frankly about myself personally: I am not clinging on to my position, and if a pertinent decision is made with regard to me I will leave without feeling in the least guilty before the people and the country. Of course, this is hard to believe, because as chief of the Center for Public Liaison I was Kryuchkov's mouthpiece of sorts. However, let us sort this out, all the more so because this has to do with more than just myself. Our "armed detachment of the party," as the organs of state security have been customarily called in recent decades, has always proceeded from the law in its operation. It is another matter whether the law was good or bad. However, we have always been a law-governed organization in our sincere belief that we serve the people. Only the state conspiracy indicated that we may become the tool of political criminals. It turned out that even the president may be taken hostage by using the KGB. It is now obvious that our organs need to be reformed.

[Morgin] In recent days, the Alfa group has been frequently mentioned in the newspapers. To a degree it acted as the savior of the KGB's reputation by refusing to storm the White House during the days of the putsch...

[Karbainov] And I will add, it has proved that state security has not at all lost touch with the people, and that the spirit of democracy has deeply penetrated its ranks. In general, as you put it, Kryuchkov's inheritance is not homogeneous, and it is hardly fair to put all of us in the class of suppressors of democratic transformations.

[Morgin] We heard here that the KGB has, supposedly, always been a law-governed organization. Do your organs intend to blindly obey the law now as well?

[Karbainov] I have complete confidence in the current USSR Supreme Soviet, and I am convinced that the KGB will not have to engage in any antipeople activities.[end interview]

Necessary Comments

It is hard to say whether it is good or bad that a KGB general has confidence in the current composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Its inaction during the putsch, as well as the parliamentary debate during this week, evokes a different feeling in most of us.

There are doubts about the fairness of some of General Karbainov's other pronouncements, for example, concerning his colleagues' strict compliance with the requirements of the law. Even if we try to forget their key role in the criminal conspiracy, what are we to do about continuous control over our mode of thinking and the continuous presence of staff and supernumerary KGB employees in the mass media? Yegor Yakovlev, who came to head the state radio and television company, discovered that close to a third of his subordinates fall into precisely this category of the population. How many such people are there in our editorial office?

So, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, are you saying that the KGB has always operated under the law? But under which law? Was it the one that allowed people to be put away for their convictions, poetry, and novels, as was the case quite recently, in the early and mid- 1980's? Can a person with integrity be made to execute criminal laws? The criminal codes of the entire world maintain that this is not possible. Besides, you personally worked until very recently in the "dissident" directorate of the committee, a subdivision which to this day elicits universal disgust, despite the fact that it operated in keeping with the laws of the time.

The confidence of the people will not be gained by smooth assurances of one's absolute respect for the law and one's ex-boss who trampled it, but rather by specific facts of participation in the process of genuine democratization in one's all-powerful organization.

Incidentally, about might. Perhaps not a single citizen of sound mind will deny the need for an adequately powerful system of state security. As we see it, it should include subdivisions engaging in intelligence and counterintelligence, and nothing else, as is the case throughout the world. Actually, this was expected at the beginning of perestroyka. However, on the eve of the necessary reduction of "the organs" in the course of perestroyka, questions that are so natural for our society arose, for example, who is going to monitor the purity of the ranks of our incorruptible militia? What about the so-called regimen, what about customs, what about certain types of commercial transactions, what about special communications? Therefore the omnipotent apparatus of the department, which even now puts its departmental interests above all else, remained inordinately large.

Of course, it is a secret just how large. But let us try to count anyway. In Moscow alone there are 33 rayons. Each of the rayons has a rayon KGB department with approximately 1,000 people. In addition, there are city and oblast directorates, and in republics there are republic directorates. According to British data the number of employees is about 1 million.

Incidentally, how many friends, KGB volunteer aids, to use Kryuchkov's term, and paid agents are there? This is also a secret. In a word, had the KGB been deprived of just any segment of its multifaceted functions, we would have had no coup but would have had genuine state security instead.

This is how it happened. While it had the right "to work" on all of us mere mortals in a wholesale and retail manner, the KGB had no right to as much as touch the supreme leadership of any rank, from rayon to Union. As a result, as time went on it turned into a detachment guarding the party and turning a blind eye to everything that was going on in the upper echelons of power. The results are well known.

On top of this, the right hand in a tremendous and complex organization never knows what the left hand is doing. Let me give my own example. A year ago two strange phone calls were made to the office of our acting editor. One of the callers demanded that my article about the hard currency machinations of a certain company be published immediately, whereas the other one insisted that it be immediately removed from the issue. Both well-wishers served as chiefs of KGB directorates.

One more point. There is an endeavor which may still improve the reputation of the Committee for State Security somewhat. After the abortive—thank God!—coup the persecution of not only the participants in it has begun in our country but also of those who, in the opinion of self-appointed investigators, did not "raise their voices in protest" against the putsch. It turns out that millions of people are guilty because they did not become heroes... Of course, it is absurd. However, this is a dangerous, Bolshevik phenomenon. To be sure, plain false accusations also abound. Therefore, the Committee for State Security, which is of course fully aware of the matter, could save the good names of many, provided, of course, it wants to.

Media & Journalism

Return of 'Vremya' Program Welcomed

PM1109145291 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 91 Union Edition p 8

[Article by Vl. Arsenyev under the "TV and Us" rubric: "New Life for the Old 'Vremya'"]

[Text] Rumors of the death of the "Vremya" program proved to be greatly exaggerated. Some people must have been delighted, others grieved to see the news program shown at 2100 hours 9 September.

Due credit must be given to the team headed by Olvar Kakuchaya, which had considered renaming the program "2100" but kept the old name after all. This step is entirely appropriate to the character of the team's main protagonists—journalists who are not only professional, but have a great sense of their own dignity. They were offended to find that all those who worked on the "Vremya" program before the coup were tarred with the same brush and deemed to be yesterday's men, no longer needed. They wanted to prove that it is not a question of the name, that professionalism is an unchanging concept. And, most important, they had to scale new heights in broadcasting.

Did they succeed? Maybe it is premature to judge from a single edition. But in my view Tatyana Komarova coped with this frankly difficult task. She did not let herself down. Moreover there were new rubrics showing considerable inventiveness. They presented, for instance, a political portrait of FRG Vice Chancellor H.-D. Genscher. In another instance, inviting an "outsider" to the studio—Professor D. Sanders from the United States—they asked him about the prospects for political development in the USSR. Food problems were discussed. There was science, cultural life...

It seems that there will indeed be no going back to the old ways—in the sense of insincerity and the presentation of reports and commentaries to order. But there is one striking feature, if you compare TSN [Television News Service] with today's "Vremya." They differ not only in terms of the manner of the presenters, who determine the pace and image of the program, but also in being addressed, as it were, to different categories of viewers. It is hard to imagine how things that are almost totally incompatible could eventually be combined in a single program. If, of course, that aim—of reducing the two concepts to one—is actually pursued...

Changes Expected

PM1109161791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by B. Arsenyev: "TV and Us—New Program, Familiar Faces"]

[Text] I don't know how original the work of the second production crew participating in the Central Television experiment will be. But judging from first reactions, TSN has a lot going for it. On closing the program 8 September, Tatyana Mitkova said all she feasibly could say: The week was difficult, and it wasn't easy for the TSN crew either. And then... she smiled. If you recall, the "Vremya" program was not noted for its smiles. Nor was it noted for its terse commentaries, wealth of video materials, sociological polls, video and film montages—all of which permit us to examine a situation in context.

Moreover, IZVESTIYA—which spent the week following the changes in the TSN news program—noted these qualities. Indeed, the week was not just complex. Historic events took place. We no longer live in the same country we lived in a week ago. The country shrank, losing the three Baltic republics at least. So, obviously, the absence of "Vremya" is not perceived as the greatest loss in our lives. I think that the results of a viewers' poll will bear out this suggestion. By the way, the poll is being carried out right now by three sociological groups.

Meanwhile, massive changes are taking place behind the scenes on the other side of the screen from us, among the viewers, too. The first crew's work was led by Oleg Dobrodeyev, who returned to Central Television from Russian Television where he pioneered the news service for "Vesti." It is suggested that he may be followed by a number of prominent "Vesti" journalists. Who are they? Yuriy Rostov? Vladislav Flyarkovskiy? Yevgeniy Kiselev? The situation will probably become clear later when the second crew under Olvar Kakuchay (who headed the chief news editorial team for "Vremya") appears. However, supposition of this kind is hardly a source of joy for Russian TV, which, having been unable to stand on its own two feet, is forced to overcome additional difficulties.

Of course, it could all be different. Suppose those we are about to see—also familiar faces—turn out to be better, more accurate, more penetrating? Whatever happens, we can look forward to another week pondering a fascinating subject, whose outcome nobody yet knows.

Poltoranin Denies Restricting Workers' Paper

PM1109121191 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 1

[Article by Vladimir Zakhvatov, editor of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA Mass Organizational and Commercial Work Department: "Mikhail Poltoranin Denies Rumors That He Ordered Restrictions on Retail Sale of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA"]

[Text] Muscovites were the first to worry:

"Is RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA coming out?"

"It comes out daily, so it came out."

"So why is it not on newsstands then?"

Then calls began to come in from Leningrad, the Baltic republics, the Transcaucasus, and Maritime Kray, all saying the same thing: "Why is RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA not on sale?"

These calls naturally concern us but, to be honest, they also give us sincere satisfaction: This means people trust and like the newspaper, feel it is their paper, and do not want to change their sympathies and predilections. **After all, no subscriber to RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA abandoned the paper after 22 August, when its publication was suspended for three issues.** And that means people continue to trust us. And this is the most important thing—for ultimately a newspaper's life is determined by its readers, not by officials. And we hope that this trust will strengthen, since the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA journalist's collective, together with the Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions, has become cofounder of its paper—in other words, a co-owner who independently determines the topics and sociopolitical orientation of the publication. And we are seeking to make the newspaper really necessary to readers. Not only in terms of news content, but also by assuming the difficult work of protecting people's social interests.

But something else is causing concern. The "Soyuzpechat" central retail and subscription agency had to send a special telegram to Riga, where even two weeks after the putsch RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA was not being delivered to subscribers and was not on sale at newsstands because it was "suspended." Nor is RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA being printed in Kishinev, which means that people not only in Moldova but also in Odessa Oblast are now not receiving our paper. Readers are calling to report that some "Soyuzpechat" departments (Tselinograd, Moscow, Cheboksary) are refusing to take money for subscriptions to RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA for next year allegedly because it has been "banned." We can guess who is being so "diligent" on our behalf—you only have to read the "compliments" from colleagues featured in many publications. Never mind, as the immortal master mortician Bezenchuk would say, stifle the competitor! Everything is clear with regard to them.

Then a quite staggering piece of news came in: Personnel of the "Pravda" Publishing House Distribution Department reported that the "Soyuzpechat" central retail and subscription agency has allegedly received oral instructions from M. Poltoranin, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] minister of the press and mass information, to restrict the number of copies of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA going on retail sale.

We doubted the accuracy of this information and assumed that someone was also very keen to cause a quarrel between RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA and the Russian press minister.

We decided to clarify the whole matter. We called Mikhail Nikiforovich Poltoranin and asked: Has he really issued any such instructions regarding RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in any form?

"We have issued such instructions neither in oral, nor in written, nor in any other form," the minister replied. "Indeed, we could not have issued them. We are interested in ensuring that RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, as an independent newspaper for the social protection of working people, reaches its readers. Especially as Russian independent trade unions are now cofounders of the paper. Although, as you are aware, some of the capacities

of the 'Pravda' Publishing House are shortly to be transferred to Russian publications. There is sufficient capacity there..."

So, esteemed reader, if you go to a "Soyuzpechat" newsstand for RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA and you are told that "The paper is sold out, because they are sending just a few copies," you are entitled to demand that the news vendor increase his weekly order so that there are enough copies of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA for everyone who wants one.

And, for our part, we assure readers that instead of the present 280,000 copies of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA distributed to retail outlets, we are prepared, given orders from "Soyuzpechat," to print 500,000-800,000 copies each day—the 'Pravda' Publishing House has the newsprint and production capacities to do this.

At the same time we remind you that subscriptions to RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA for 1992 are available. Do not delay—RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA is one of the cheapest papers in the country. For the moment.

PRAVDA Urges Return of '600 Seconds'

PM1209100191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Article by N. Yuryeva: "A Matter of Seconds"]

[Text] Events have been developing at a furious pace this year: You can wake up one morning and find yourself in a different country. A different country, but unfortunately as yet one with the same problems.

Nevzorov's canceled "600 Seconds" program clearly left a big gap. This has been noted not just by the program's devoted viewers, who felt confident as they looked over Nevzorov's shoulder. Something also came to an end for those people who accused him of all the deadly sins after certain reports. No matter how they attacked the reporter, it seems that both the former and the latter gained something from his broadcasts.

At the very peak, the height of democracy the program was stopped. They stopped it, citing certain formal contracts and agreements, or rather the lack of them. There would have been nothing unusual in that except that a different logic was clearly visible behind the formal explanation—the end of the struggle waged this year against an awkward customer.

In the search for arguments recently his opponents accused him of being mentally ill. Children's corpses, mounds of rotting meat, the sweaty face of a criminal—and all in close-up—were termed the reporter's pathological passions. As I recall, it was those particular reports that we repeated to one another in the most minute detail the next day. But he was sick... In his wild eyes, which we once liked so much, we suddenly noticed an unhealthy glint: Had we so heartily applauded a monster for two and a half years?

You can have a relapse of any disease; Brezhnev's epidemic of packing off to the psychiatric hospital awkward people who preferred to sing their own song rather than join in the general chorus could develop again. Real democracy can and must be the antithesis of that, the guarantee of irreversibility. It must... But again the finger is pointed: "He is not like the others, therefore... he is abnormal." Can you hold such a man accountable?

Both "rose-colored" and "dark" glasses suit our society—the important thing is that everyone wears the same. It seems that we are born with a tendency to find enemies: Not someone who thinks differently, not an opponent, but immediately an enemy: Nevzorov divided people into "our people" and "their people," and we in turn divided them into "healthy" and "unhealthy." The negative prefix denotes rejection, even elimination. The "children" born in a democratic society must not play such games.

But unfortunately the games are continuing. On the "judgment day" of democracy, during that memorable August, we heard that "600 Seconds" was being taken off the air. Does that mean that Aleksandr Glebovich is a "mirror" of Russian democracy?

When we bar the airwaves to a dissenter we hardly realize that at the same time we are also depriving ourselves of a great deal. A free man has the right to choose; that is mainly where his freedom lies. He can sit glued to the screen watching the Leningrad television reporter and accept everything that he says or he can switch to another channel. And he can say to himself: "I chose to do that. I chose, I did not accept the only thing that was on offer." A decision is all the dearer to you if you have been able to reject something.

Furthermore, "600 Seconds" has always been a repudiation of the generally accepted, a symbol of something at right angles to official opinion. Even in the new society it must remain on the air, confirming the right of each individual to express his own thoughts without fear of being attacked for it. And the return of Nevzorov and his program would be another small victory for democracy.

New, Independent PRAVDA Solicits Subscribers

PM1109122191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Subscription campaign appeal: "The New PRAVDA Is Your PRAVDA"]

[Text] People have grown used to reading PRAVDA. PRAVDA has always been viewed as a serious source of information, both in our country and throughout the world. The evaluations and opinions carried on its pages were an infallible indication of what point of view the USSR leadership held.

That used to be the case. But good or bad, you can't tell the whole truth unless you give the whole picture. Yes, we were often uncritical and showed a lack of independence in our items.

Three days in August overturned ideas of many things, ideas which had seemed unshakable only the day before. In that time PRAVDA managed to undergo closure, reregistration, and then revival. Now we are an independent newspaper. Our course is the course of common sense. No one will foist anything on us ever again. We are autonomous and responsible.

The renewed PRAVDA, whose founder is now its journalistic collective, conducts a frank discussion with its readers and analyzes the situation honestly and impartially, devoting its primary attention to the problems of each and every person.

Stick with PRAVDA!

Subscriptions are accepted at any postal services department and by public distributors. The price of a year's subscription is 29 rubles [R] 4 kopeks (R24 in the Ukraine); a subscription for six months costs R14.52; for three months—R7.26, and for one month, R2.42.

TASS Reviews 12 Sep Soviet Central Press

LD1209091191 Moscow TASS in English 0811 GMT 12 Sep 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS Headline]

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—Today's newspapers focus on the CSCE human rights conference in Moscow

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reports a joint news conference by President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on Wednesday. Gorbachev noted that "the current situation opens up new opportunities for successful economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States".

Seakers noted new approaches to Soviet-Cuban relations and the Afghanistan settlement.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA writes that Russian President Boris Yeltsin's speech before participants in the CSCE conference was the event of the day on Wednesday.

Yeltsin noted that people have made their choice, finding a way out of the deadlock of totalitarianism, which destroyed the natural basis of life and distorted the picture of the world.

The Russian president told the meeting that work on a new constitution of the Russian Federation, in which "the break-up of the communist system will be legally reflected", is coming to an end.

August events have shown who really is a friend of Russia. They have also shown that military threat from the West is a myth. In this connection, it is possible to speed up the disarmament process and cut the Soviet Army and weapons, Yeltsin said.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA carries short interviews with renowned state and political figures from many countries about processes in the Soviet Union. Most of them favour granting aid to the Soviet Union.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA continues publishing chapters from Raisa Gorbachev's book "I Hope".

Newspapers report the situation in the country's hot spots, focusing on the situation in Georgia, where confrontation has reached its peak between the authorities and opposition.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries an interview with Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev on the border issue.

In an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, Soviet Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov speaks about reforming the Soviet defence ministry. According to the minister, "it should become a civilian department".

Economic

Silayev To Resign as Economic Committee Chief

LD1109154591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1532 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow 11 Sep (TASS)—By a TASS correspondent. At a session of the Committee for Operational Management of the USSR National Economy, its head, Ivan Silayev, stated that he will cease holding these powers next Monday. Silayev did not give reasons for this, or name a possible successor.

Denies Statement

LD1209100791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Ivan Silayev, head of the Committee for Operational Management of the USSR National Economy, and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker met in Moscow today. Answering journalists' questions following this meeting, Silayev reported that at the second session of the state council, planned for 16 September, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, his deputy in the committee, will present a report on his proposals for forming an economic union. Answering persistent questions from journalists about his possible resignation, Silayev again stressed that this should be decided by the state council. [Paris AFP in English 0922 GMT 12 Sep 91 adds "I did not make this statement, I am not the source of this rumor," Silayev told reporters after holding talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.]

'Vremya' Interviews Silayev

LD1109223591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Interview with Ivan Silayev, RSFSR prime minister and chairman of the Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy, by announcer Irina Mishina under the caption "Prominent Personalities"; from the "Vremya" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Mishina] We hope this column will have further issues and that visits made by state leaders to our "Vremya" program studio will become a regular feature rather than an exeption. A sitting of the Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy took place today, and when it ended committee chairman Ivan Stepanovich Slayev arrived in our studio. Ivan Stepanovich, I should like to begin with a question: Some foreign radio stations today broadcast sensational news about your retirement from the post of chairman of this committee. Is this so or not?

[Silayev] To begin with, I cannot decide on such questions singlehanded. This could only be decided by the USSR Council of State.

[Mishina] So the question remains open? My question is natural. What questions were today on the committee's agenda? What is the most important issue now?

[Silayev] Today we examined a range of questions, including the creation of social support funds for the less protected citizens of the country. Today we examined the question of preparing a report on our propositions for the food program to be presented at the next session of the Council of State, which will take place on the 16th. And I have signed an official memo today which, together with the brief and the draft of the decision by the Council of State, was sent to the president of the country. And there were a number of other questions, many of which will be of interest, shall we say, to all the republics. We have examined the agenda for the 13th—there are five questions. Each question is a problem; each question involves the interests of not just any single republic but practically all the republics.

[Mishina] As I understand it, the committee that was created and is now functioning is a prototype for economic relations between the republics within the future Union, after the new Union Treaty is signed. How many republics are now represented in this committee, and what unites them?

[Silayev] You are right about this being a possible prototype for what has already been determined by the Congress of People's Deputies of the country; that is, the interrepublican economic committee. And I think that a substantial number of those active in this commmittee will have the right to take a part in that future committee. Practically within two days we have succeeded in inviting and getting into our committee representatives of all 15 republics, including four observers. But we often ignore the term "observers," because the observers too take a very active part in our discussions. Besides, we do not raise political questions. The object of our concern and attention is the economy—the economic problems of the country and the republics. This is what unites us.

[Mishina] Ivan Stepanovich, the question that worries every one of us today: Many people predict a harsh and hungry winter. Will everything indeed be as difficult and as harsh as many are saying, or do we have a chance after all?

[Silayev] As for the harsh winter, there is various talk. The preliminary forecast, although not quite guaranteed, is that indeed the average annual winter [temperature] could be lower. Regarding hunger, it looks more like a panic, if you like, and the citizens' natural anxieties and worries. The main task of our committee is to prevent this happening. And I should say that about 70 percent of our time and attention is being devoted to this very problem: how to provide the county's population with sufficient amounts of food during these autumn and winter months. The main thing is, naturally, the harvest and storage works within the country. We believe we are taking sufficiently effective measures on this. Of course, we cannot do here without purchases—such negotiations are now under way.

Therefore, we can say—and I am speaking on behalf of the committee—that there will be no hunger.

[Mishina] Thank you for such a reassuring statement, for such reassuring words. We wish you success in your work and hope that this is not your last visit to the "Vremya" studio.

[Silayev] I hope so, too. Thank you.

[Mishina] I wish you success.

[Silayev] Goodbye.

TRUD Interview Published

PM1109221991 Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Sep 91 p 1, 4

[Interview with I. Silayev, head of the Russian Government and leader of the Interim Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy, by political observer V. Golovachev; date of interview not given; first three paragraphs are introduction: "I. Silayev: Russia Has Hardworking and Talented People. The Economic Union Will Unite Everyone on the Basis of Mutual Interest"]

[Text] Ivan Stepanovich Silayev's working day stretches from early morning late into the night. During this extraordinarily difficult times for the country he not only heads the Russian Government, which has more than enough of its own concerns, but, as is known, is also the leader of the Interim Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy. Life is proceeding at a rapid, extreme, and exhausting pace...

I. Silayev, who is usually responsive to journalists' requests, was unable for a whole week, despite the best of intentions, to squeeze out albeit half an hour for our conversation. Two attempts to meet proved unsuccessful. On the first occasion while I was walking from the editorial office to the government building on Pushkinskaya (and it is only 10 minutes on foot), I. Silayev received a telephone call from USSR President M. Gorbachev who asked him to come and see him. A few days later an urgent matter again "put off" our conversation.

But now our meeting has taken place. As always, Ivan Stepanovich answered questions thoroughly, without looking at his watch, and his office seemed an island of tranquility and confidence in a raging sea...

[Golovachev] How do you see the future of the country, at least in broad outline?

[Silayev] What do you have in mind—the future commonwealth of republics—I have no idea what it will be called—the commonwealth of nations?

[Golovachev] Yes, not just Russia, but precisely the whole commonwealth.

[Silayev] It is difficult to say clearly and in detail what our future Union will be like. But whatever happens, one thing is certain: It will be an economic union based on an economic agreement advantageous for all its participants. This will not be easy to achieve, of course. It is very important to ensure that we do not slide back to the former principles of pressure on the part of the so-called center, that we do not allow infringement of any of the interests of any one of the republics.

The creation of an economic union is a real task. Something on the lines of the European Economic Community. I am not saying that we should now simply copy the experience of the EEC. That is impossible. We have a different time-frame and a different starting point. In the West a relatively high level of citizens' social security has been attained, the level of economic development is high, and there is the classic model of market relations and private ownership.

On this basis the countries who are members of the EEC are pooling their efforts in order to proceed further. We are beginning from the breakdown, the virtually complete breakdown of the political system and economic dislocation, and therefore we will simply not be able to use the experience of the EEC in its pure form, so to speak.

However, nonetheless it is possible, in my opinion, to speak of a formula of our future commonwealth, comparable, up to a point, with what there is and what there will be within the EEC.

[Silayev] The Union parliament is definite. We have finally reached the classic model. Once again I will cite an analogy—there is the Europarliament. There is nothing terrible about this.

[Golovachev] But the Europarliament has other functions.

[Silayev] Other functions, of course. The conditions there are also quite different. In short, I see no problem here. Naturally, the decisive role on republics' territory will be played by republic parliaments. There is the principle of the supremacy of republic laws. But of course, the laws which are backed and recognized by the economic community must function, and will have to be respected.

[Golovachev] Ivan Stepanovich, you have said recently that Bulgaria, Poland, or Czechoslovakia, for example, might join the economic agreement. Has there been any response?

[Silayev] Yes, there has... In Poland, for example, some people perceived this virtually as an encroachment on their freedom and autonomy.

[Golovachev] Really?

[Silayev] Yes, strange as it may seem. Let me remind you that I spoke merely of the possibility: If these countries find that they are interested in this agreement, they may join it. It is their choice. If they want to, they can join, and if they do not want to join, they need not.

I proceeded from the fact that we have traditional links with them. And what is more, it is possible to claim that these links are no less deep than the links between republics. Especially if you take the production and deliveries to our country of finished goods, for example, including textiles and light industry and machine building goods and equipment...

These are deep ties which have largely shaped the structure of our economies. This is why a number of former socialist countries are today in a no less difficult situation than we ourselves. This is how it is. They are all tied together and shackled by the old structures, with ourselves at their head.

They will have to go a long way to restructure their economies (and the same goes for us) to meet the demand for consumer goods. Here, in Russia, heavy industry and the fuel and energy complex account for 76 percent... And only 24 percent of industrial production capacities are used to meet citizens' needs. In the aforementioned countries the situation is much the same. While in developed states the correlation is the reverse...

Naturally, we will not try to enlist anybody—those who perceive the economic union as advantageous are bound to express interest themselves. This is what I had in mind when I spoke.

[Golovachev] Living standards continue to deteriorate. More and more often it is being said that it is necessary to appreciably curb social programs and give up plans for the indexation of the incomes of even the needy. What can you say in this context?

[Silayev] You see, we have been trying all along to prove to both our citizens and ourselves that the transition to the market is going to be an easy and pleasant stroll. Everyone is protected, everyone is provided for, and the further we go, the easier it will get. This does not happen in real life...

The question of the needy is a different matter. We know that more than 40 percent of the inhabitants of Russia are living below the poverty line. That is a serious issue. Today it is a grim reality. There is a large group of people who cannot afford to buy even the bare essentials.

Therefore it is necessary to define the subsistence minimum and carry out indexation, so that a section of citizens receive 100 percent compensation.

[Golovachev] To whom will this apply?

[Silayev] The disabled, pensioners, and large families, for example; that is, those who are living below the poverty line or somewhere around it. The state will have to pick up the tab for all this. However, this does not mean that 100-percent indexation will be provided for all strata. That is unthinkable, that is impossible.

[Golovachev] When will the situation begin to improve?

[Silayev] It is simply necessary to stop talking about the market and enter it. However, with eyes open rather than closed, of course. Naturally, certain privations and difficulties will persist for some time yet. But it is necessary to go forward. Not aimlessly, however. Ultimately everything depends on us. Now when the republics have freedom of action, when they are no longer subject to the former pressures and restrictions—I am speaking primarily of Russia—there is sn opportunity to implement the main provisions of the program more effectively and speedily.

[Golovachev] Ultimately, however, success will depend on those who operate the machine tools, work in the fields, drive the tractors...

[Silayev] A BBC correspondent said to me recently—people in your country like the way the Americans live, but they do not want to work the way the Americans work. I categorically disagreed with this journalist. That is an incorrect claim. Our entire history, and that includes the contemporary period, indicates that the inhabitants of Russia, for example, are hardworking and talented people.

[Golovachev] Lenin's well-known words that the Russians were poor workers involuntarily come to mind...

[Silayev] No, this is not correct, of course. A great deal depends on conditions. When everything was confiscated and then a little was given back... Gradually interest in work, initiative, and the desire to produce and earn with one's own hands were lost... People must have an incentive to work, that's what makes the difference. This is why restructuring is so important today. This applies in particular to privatization. It is necessary to proceed more boldly, not to be afraid.

In the past it was a terrible word. As if an individual, a private person would be buying the KamAZ or AvtoVAZ motor vehicle plants. But this is not the question, after all. It is a question of conversion to share-holding which makes it possible to gain the interest of both the labor collective, that is those who work at the AvtoVAZ, and those for whose benefit the AvtoVAZ is working. This is an effective form of collective and at the same time individual ownership, through shares.

And as for the countryside, the Russian countryside, you will recall how not so long ago we were cursed when we defended the principles of private ownership of land. Although during the transition to the market land must also become the subject of market relations. It is another matter that there must be laws which preclude a rapacious attitude to land.

Everything has been thought out, everything is logical. It now needs to be implemented as quickly as possible.

We are now receiving assistance from abroad, we are being provided with credits. But credits have to be paid back. You cannot live on credit for long. The main thing is to switch to market relations more decisively.

[Golovachev] Many political analysts are talking about the danger of social unrest during the coming winter if it proves impossible to resolve food and fuel problems... Not everyone cherishes freedom and democracy—this is the misfortune and tragedy of a people who were duped for many decades. If the current privations and difficulties drive them into the streets... Are you not afraid of a Russian revolt, a "senseless and ruthless" revolt?

[Silayev] As you know, there are Russian proverbs and maxims for every occasion. "If you are afraid of wolves, keep out of the woods," as they say.

[Golovachev] Nonetheless, does such a threat exist, is it fraught with danger?

[Silayev] Of course there is danger. But if we do not succeed somewhere, others will pick up the baton and finish the job. This process of moving toward civilization cannot be halted any more.

It was said that in our country there is no longer a desire for private ownership of land, and ownership as such. People were trying to persuade us: Forget it, the peasants are not interested in land. And what is happening in actual fact? Even we have miscalculated...

We calculated that by the end of the current year there would be 10,000 family farms in Russia. Right now their number has topped 30,000. We reckon that in the time that remains another 10,000 will appear. Although a certain proportion, perhaps 1, 1 and 1/2, or 2 percent will give up again—having failed or simply not having taken the matter seriously, but that too is natural. But on

the whole, no matter what was done to put people off, human nature comes through even after generations, as soon as the necessary conditions are created.

I do not believe that this winter will unseat us.

But of course we must not tolerate freezing apartments, lack of electricity, and so forth. This is a serious question but it is entirely soluble.

[Golovachev] And what about food?

[Silayev] Even as regards food we are now taking serious measures. And apart from all that, the world will not remain indifferent. We have been offered assistance, including charitable assistance. We have specially considered this question in the committee. All charitable assistance will go through the Red Cross. It is a question of providing assistance especially for children and the disabled and not scattering it around the country. And of preventing speculation, although it has happened that charitable assistance has been used for profiteering.

[Golovachev] Are you happy in your personal life?

[Silayev] If only the country were happy, we could get by...

'Heated Debates' at National Economy Meeting

LD1109184791 Moscow TASS in English 1822 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS observer Boris Grishchenko]

Moscow September 11 TASS—Ivan Silayev told a meeting of the Soviet Committee for the Management of the National Economy today that he intends to resign from the post of the committee chairman next Monday.

Despite numerous questions, he refused to identify either the reasons for this decision or his possible successor.

There were three items on the agenda of the committee meeting. Only one of them provoked no debate.

Considering the facts of illegal persecution of heads of several enterprises, the committee members resolutely spoke against "victimization, accusations and hooligan actions", which, sometimes undeservedly, hurt respectable people and highly-qualified workers.

All claims to economic managers should be laid only on a legal basis, the committee believes.

Essential debates appeared during the discussion of the creation of the fund for the social protection of the population. Making an announcement on this issue, deputy committee chairman Yuriy Luzhkov admitted that there are social groups, which, in connection with the ruthless sky-rocketing of prices and the inflation, found themselves in a difficult position.

If no urgent measures are taken, "many people will possibly die of hunger," Luzhkov said.

Speakers in the discussion admitted that the most complicated task under conditions of the budget deficit, is to find additional sources of financing that would constantly feed the fund.

The meeting considered a proposal to form a group of goods to be sold at commercial prices from now on. Speakers also offered to use proceeds from the gambling business and lottery, and even "prostitution tax" for the social protection.

The need for price and income indexation was discussed again. Although, according to the statistics, 50 per cent of the prices are actually free.

Some urged the need to increase, by administrative means, prices on some goods and foodstuffs, including cigarettes and alcoholic beverages.

However, no common opinion was reached on this matter. The discussion materials were taken into account.

The opinions on Russia's "unprecedented usurpation" of Union property differed greatly as well. Speaking on this theme, Luzhkov suggested to address the Russian president with a proposal to revise a number of decrees and legislative acts on the transition of Union property located on Russian territory under the jurisdiction of the republic.

A number of these acts limit powers of the committee, including those in the currency and financial sphere, Luzhkov said.

This stand was taken differently by meeting participants. After heated debates, the meeting decided to give an additional analysis to the matter and return to it at the next session.

Saburov Economic Union Plan Published

914A1183A Moscow KOMMERSANT in Russian 2-9 Sep 91 p 9

[Article by Aleksandr Grandberg and Yevgeniy Saburov: "The Program of Yevgeniy Saburov: Everyone Picks His Own Rules of the Game. However, There Is a Price To Pay for Any Choice"]

[Text] By now, an inter-republic organ for the operational management of the national economy has already been set up and is operating somehow (see page 8), taking ongoing measures to prevent the complete decomposition of the remains of the socialist national economy. However, it is obvious that the interaction of sovereign states within the framework of a unified economic space will be based on other principles which should be set forth in the future in a definite economic agreement.

Several drafts laying claim to this role have appeared in the last week. The version of Academician Shatalin has already been published in IZVESTIYA. Grigoriy Yavlinskiy has also prepared his draft. As far as a third draft is concerned, which will have to compete with the two drafts mentioned above, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Minister of Economics Yevgeniy Saburov submitted a program for organizing an economic system that he prepared in cooperation with Aleksandr Grandberg (chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Issues of Inter-Republic Relations), to KOMMERSANT for publication.

We publish the slightly abridged text of the program (published for the first time).

Proposals for Organizing the Economic Interaction of Sovereign States

General Provisions

The degree of economic integration of states in the Community may vary in spheres such as monetary and credit, price, customs, and budget policy, which will include both the coordination of the main avenues of economic policy and contributions to the budget of the Community provided for financing the operation of joint government organs. It is necessary to develop criteria for determining the shares of the states in contributions to the budget which take into account the economic potential of individual states.

Participation in the Community should not rule out the possibility of economic relations based on bilateral treaties on issues of mutual concern.

Implementation of an Economic Reform and Economic Policy Coordination

Safeguarding the interests of all parties as much as possible calls for coordinating economic policy with regard to privatizing state property, especially former Union property, making economic legislation more uniform, assuring the stability of monetary circulation (involving a common currency unit for some participants in the Community and their own units for others), and ensuring openness in the national economies, as well as their gradual integration into the world economic community.

The implementation of joint measures with a view to restricting and regulating inflationary processes and ensuring the free flow of goods and capital on the territory of the member states which will maintain a common currency unit is the task of such states in the sphere of monetary and credit policy. To this end, the existing bank system should be transformed into a three-tier system within the zone of circulation of common currency: The central bank of the Community—the central banks of member states—commercial banks. The operation of the bank system and the regulatory role of the central bank of the Community, managed by a board consisting of representatives of the member states, are set forth in an agreement of the member states. Within the zone of circulation of the common currency, the central bank of the Community should have an opportunity to pursue an independent credit and monetary policy, proceeding solely from the considerations of stability of monetary circulation.

The agreement should include mandatory conditions for the member states that resolve to introduce their own national currencies, taking into account both the absence of currency convertibility and the convertibility of one or several currencies of states which are members of the Community.

A phased transition to freely set prices will be implemented in mutual economic relations among the member states. At the first stage, mutually agreed contract prices taking into account price ratios in the world market will be set for the most significant types of interstate deliveries. A special organ within the framework of the working organs of the Community will be established for regulating interstate deliveries, prices, and settlements.

Finance Policy

It is necessary to develop a concise procedure for making joint decisions and precise reporting on the distribution and use of funds received as foreign loans, credit, and aid. We do not support the concept of dividing up the foreign debt which exists as of now and the foreign exchange reserves of the present Union among the parties to the Union treaty. Political changes within the territory of the present Union should not undermine the confidence of foreign creditors.

The member states will assume without reservation the obligations of the USSR by virtue of the foreign debt, and will be liable jointly and severally for servicing the debt; they will use jointly payments made by third countries toward reducing their debt to the USSR and state-to-state loans obtained by the Community.

The servicing of the foreign debt of the Community will be entrusted to a bank that will be the legal successor of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Relations. The bank in question will be set up on the basis of reorganizing the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Relations by converting it to joint-stock ownership (shares will be distributed among the member countries). On instructions from the Community, the legal successor of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Relations will act as the guarantor of loans and will be liable for the debts of the present Union, acting at the same time with regard to the states that are members of the agreement as a creditor concerning the total amount of debt distributed in keeping with the agreed-upon criteria.

The objective in the sphere of customs policy is to preserve a customs union which will embrace trade in goods in its entirety, and which presupposes refraining from the use of import and export customs duties

between the states, as well as establishing a common customs tariff in relations with third countries.

We consider it necessary to come out in favor of a synchronized price liberalization policy in the member countries.

While acknowledging the right of each state to pursue an independent tax policy, we believe that it is necessary to seek the coordination of such policies. It is necessary to avoid dual taxes on the incomes of citizens and organizations.

Scientific-Technical and Structural Policy

We consider it feasible to set up a joint foundation for basic research, as well as joint foundations for financing scientific- technical programs in sectors of the national economy, to adopt uniform legislation on the protection of intellectual property, and to organize the joint selection and implementation of [word illegible] avenues of scientific-technical progress. Pursuing a coordinated policy with regard to the development of a transportation, information, and energy infrastructure, the unification of technical standards and tariffs and the compatibility of technical resources would be in the common interest of the states.

Natural Resources and Environmental Protection

The economic exercise of republic sovereignty over natural resources presupposes carrying out a reform of the utilization of nature; charges for the use of natural resources and for environmental pollution, the implementation of a price policy that ensures self-financing for enterprises in extractive industries, a gradual transition to world prices for raw materials, and the creation of economic conditions for the stable and non-depletive use of natural resources are the main elements of this reform.

In signing the agreement, it is necessary to proceed from the need to coordinate policies with regard to nature and ecology, including regulation of the influx of foreign capital to the primary sector and exports of the main types of raw materials.

Emergency Measures To Stabilize the Economic Situation

We consider it necessary to develop and coordinate as soon as possible a program of short-term emergency measures with a view to stabilizing the situation and creating favorable conditions for implementing reform. The program should provide for maintaining economic relations among enterprises located in the territory of different states until the end of the first half of 1992, reductions in the deficits of republic budgets and restrictions on social programs, the inadmissibility of bans on exporting products beyond the borders of states or regions, and restrictions on credit emission in the territory of the states in keeping with agreed-upon principles.

Social Policy

It is necessary for parties to the agreement to proceed from the principles of a social policy that provide for coordinated actions aimed at developing and implementing inter-state social programs, providing social guarantees in keeping with established norms for citizens who migrate to another state for permanent residence, and preventing any discrimination based on nationality in hiring, remuneration, and other living and working conditions.

Saburov, Shatalin Plans Compared

914A1183B Moscow KOMMERSANT in Russian 2-9 Sep 91 p 9

[Article by Ivan Lyubimov and Sergey Viktorov: "Versions of an Economic Treaty: The Kind, the Good, and the Wicked"]

[Text] A new state emerging in the place of the former USSR has inherited the traditional abundance of economic programs. Since at present the creation of some kind of a civilized foundation for an economic reform rather than the reform itself takes over first place, these programs for the most part discuss ways to settle or regulate economic relations between sovereign republic-states.

The product of a creative team headed by Academician Shatalin, "Conventions on the Creation of an Economic Community," were unveiled before everything else (on 3 and 4 September). According to information obtained by the editorial office of KOMMERSANT, specialists from the State Council for Economic Reform (previously this organ was called the USSR Council of Ministers Council for Economic Reform), as well as representatives from 13 republics, contributed to its development vigorously. In the words of Shatalin, the draft of his "Convention" has even been sent to some countries of the former socialist camp—apparently in order to have it handy if the desire to join a renewed CEMA becomes irresistible.

As the KOMMERSANT editorial office has learned, similar studies were authored on 5 September by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy and a group of Epicenter associates. Employees of the Economic Policy Institute, staff employees of the former USSR Cabinet of Ministers, and, as Yavlinskiy says, representatives of the republic organs of economic management took part in this effort; however, according to KOMMERSANT data, their names do not appear on the list of the authors of the draft.

On 6 September, KOMMERSANT received proposals prepared by specialists from the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of Economics and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Issues of Inter-Republic Relations. On the same day, Ivan Silayev referred to the Saburov-Grandberg draft at a press conference as "a more Russian version" than the document of the Yavlinskiy team. However, he considered the

Yavlinskiy version to be "more of his own" because it was developed on Silayev's direct instructions. The Russian prime minister spoke quite cautiously about the Shatalin "Convention," letting it be known that not a single one of the governments reporting to him has anything to do with developing the "Convention."

KOMMERSANT experts note that the concept of Shatalin's "Convention" is markedly different from those of its competitors. The draft proceeds from the fact that economically independent states that have yet to agree on relations which they may establish will participate in the signing of the "Convention." An economic agreement in this form would please greatly the leaders of the republics for whom the signing of the "Convention" would be yet another pretext to stress their "material independence." For example, Akakiy Asatiani, chairman of the Supreme Council of Georgia, stated that Georgia is prepared to sign Shatalin's "Convention" "right away."

In the opinion of KOMMERSANT experts, the liberal nature of the "Convention" would indeed guarantee its signing by the greatest number soon. However, the experts note that in the event of implementing the Shatalin "Convention" the republics would merely sign a collective declaration on aspiring to coordinate "the rules of the game." For example, the signatories of the "Convention" should not at all agree to have a common monetary unit or price and tax policy, or be jointly liable for the obligations of the former Union. The need for a customs union is the only rigid requirement for the members of the convention, though "at the first stage" the "Convention" allows restrictions on the movement of goods inside the Community.

Other "details" of the emergence of a common market and economic integration would have to be worked out in stages, without setting rigid deadlines.

The Saburov-Grandberg "proposals" proceed from the need for the economic treaty to maintain at least a "core" of several republics which will assume obligations to preserve a common currency, be jointly and severally responsible to Western creditors, assure trade in goods without hindrance, preserve economic ties within the "core," pursue a strict anti-inflationary policy, and take anti- crisis measures. The Saburov program also allows for an associate membership in the Community which may be restricted only to the customs union and contributions to the funds of the Community.

In the opinion of KOMMERSANT experts, the authors of the "Proposals" envision the creation of a "core" of the economic community after the "Russia plus N" pattern, in which the desire to maintain existing economic relations with RSFSR enterprises will provide the main incentive for joining the core, perhaps even to the detriment of one's economic independence. Observers predict that if the Saburov-Grandberg "proposals" are accepted as the foundation for the economic agreement, the "N" number will hardly be a large one—other republics will restrict themselves to bilateral treaties on specific issues.

The Yavlinskiy program approaches the issue of membership in "an economic union," which largely retains the features of "a unified national economic complex," in the most uncompromising fashion. Thus, the institution of the board of the USSR bank is to remain indefinitely; no substantial changes in the budget system are envisaged prior to 1992; uniform procedures for accumulating foreign exchange proceeds for servicing the foreign debt and importing goods in a centralized manner will be continued until a transition to the internal convertibility of the ruble. The issue of republics switching to their own currency is planned to be postponed beyond 1992, and then "only on terms ruling out the possibility of damage to the monetary system of the economic union." On the contrary, the signatories of the economic treaty undertake to "be aware of the advantages of retaining the ruble as a common currency" and reinforce it in every way possible.

Similar "Ways To Overcome the Crisis" have been proposed by Arkadiy Volskiy, a colleague of Yavlinskiy from "the provisional government." Incidentally, Yavlinskiy specifically put Volskiy's studies first on the list of documents used in compiling his draft.

The experts note that the excessive optimism of the Yavlinskiy treaty is due to underestimating centrifugal tendencies as a result of euphoria which the authors and requesters of the document are experiencing in the course of performing the functions of the central government.

In the opinion of the observers, all of these drafts have their own advantages, but in reality their shortcomings will apparently carry a greater weight. This is why it can hardly be expected that representatives of the sovereign republics will be invited to sign them "in pure form." These are rather examples of theoretical approaches to the concept of economic structure of a confederative state.

From a strictly formal point of view, the Yavlinskiy program, which was submitted for consideration as early as 6 September at the first meeting of the State Council, has a certain "handicap advantage." However, in the opinion of well-informed experts, the attitude of the members of the State Council toward the issue of the economic agreement will be influenced by all drafts.

Single Draft Economic Agreement Foreseen

LD1109160691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] It is expected that next Monday, 16 September, at a sitting of the State Council, a single draft will be drawn up for an economic agreement between the republics forming part of the USSR. The document will mainly reflect the drafts prepared by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy and

Yevgeniy Saburov. This was announced today in Moscow during a meeting between Yevgeniy Saburov, deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers and Russian economics minister, and Jacques-Louis Cardieux, representative of the External Relations Department of the EC Commission.

As reported by an INTERFAX correspondent, Yevgeniy Saburov stated that the question now is how tough the banking system should be, in particular its organizational structure. He also said that he thinks that a single central bank should function for the entire circulation zone of the ruble [rublevoye prostranstvo]. Moreover, Saburov stressed, we shall be in a very difficult situation if its [the central bank's] decisions are dependent on consensus with the republics. The financial system should be absolutely independent from the state or states. He also announced that among the measures to be taken to reduce the country's budget deficit, it is planned in particular to cut subsidies to various industries and agricultural sectors. He advocated a thorough review of the overall taxation system. Jean-Louis Cardieux informed the Russian delegation that starting this week and over the next two months or so, 7,000 heavy trucks with humanitarian food aid will be despatched to Russia and the USSR.

As reported by the INTERFAX agency, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, first deputy head of the USSR Committee for Operational Management of the Economy, is preparing a draft presidential decree to form an agency to coordinate cooperation with international economic organizations and developed industrial countries. The need for this agency is shown by the fact that there is still no unified system or plan to implement current or future technical or other aid arriving from abroad.

Yavlinskiy Comments on Economic Union Treaty

LD1109213991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 11 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, a Silayev deputy, reported today that the draft interrepublican treaty on an economic union will be examined at a session of the State Council on 16 September. At a news conference in Moscow, Yavlinskiy said that this document is oriented not toward the republics but toward the independent states. There are no political conditions in the treaty. It allows both full and associate membership of the future economic union, and proposes the independence of states in solving virtually all questions.

It also became known today that Yavlinskiy is preparing a draft decree of the USSR president on setting up an agency to coordinate cooperation with international economic organizations and the developed industrialized states.

New Agency To Coordinate Foreign Economic Aid

OW1109125491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF [INTERFAX] has been informed that Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, the deputy chairman of the acting Soviet cabinet, is drafting a presidential decree on the formation of an agency to coordinate cooperation with international economic organizations and industrialized nations.

Such an agency is necessary because there is no single system or plan for using the current and future technical and other foreign aid. As a result some aspects of economic reforms in the country are overlooked.

The agency ill be attached to the future government of the country. Its concrete status and composition have not been defined yet. However, it is expected to have broad powers as it should cooperate with international economic and financial organizations.

Publishing of Soviet Gold Figures Urged

PM1109100391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7

[Article by E. Guseynov: "Secrets of Soviet Gold Should Be Finally Revealed"]

[Text] One of the founders of the party, whose activity has now been suspended over most of our country's territory, once predicted that in a socialist society toilet bowls would be made out of a worthless and useless metal like gold.

As in the majority of his predictions, Vladimir Ulyanov was wrong this time too. Throughout the history of the socialist regime in the USSR gold has been and still remains one of the greatest secrets of that regime. We the country's citizens still do not know today exactly how much of it is mined, where it is mined, or where it is spent.

It is impossible to create a market economy without daily and accurate information about gold reserves, production, and cost. Gold, including Soviet gold, is a strategic product. To this day it is the ultimate yardstick in economics. Prices for gold directly influence world raw material and commodity markets. But most important is that this metal is a traditional source of currency revenue and basic financial power for any states or regimes. Including those which could arise on the territory of the rapidly disintegrating Soviet federation. For that reason the secret of gold is increasingly perturbing not only economists and entrepreneurs in the USSR but also politicians and ordinary citizens.

In the expectation that the exact figures will be made public, let us argue around the facts that we know already.

Let us begin with the quantity of gold which we have today. Throughout the years of perestroyka the Union gold reserve, like the volumes of gold production in the USSR, has to all appearances been steadily declining. According to the figures of Swiss and U.S. specialists who keep a close track of the Soviet gold situation, from 1986 through 1990 volumes of sales and the expenditure of gold as a whole in the USSR were almost invariably in excess of production volumes. As a result in these years alone the presumed reduction net reduction in the USSR gold reserve was at least 280 tonnes. The actual size of the gold reserve is assessed today at 1,500-2,000 tonnes (worth $20-25 billion), which is almost one third less than the corresponding assessments with which Soviet leaders of the gold industry and the Foreign Economic Bank tacitly agreed, having in the past cited different figures to the author of these lines: 2,500-3,500 tonnes. A tangible difference.

How have we disposed of the gold, or to be more exact how has it been disposed of in our name? The main reason for the dwindling of the gold reserve is sales of gold to pay for our imports and mounting debts. It is mainly the leaders of the Foreign Economic Bank who deal in the sale of gold. Although during the years of perestroyka they have striven to sell Soviet gold in a civilized way—in small consignments, concealing the sales with temporary purchases of the precious metal—in general the USSR presence on the very sensitive gold market is a constant destabilizing factor.

Western bankers know that the slightest difficulty arising for the Soviet Union with regard to payments in accordance with its commitments, which have occurred increasingly frequently in recent years, will lead to an unpredictable "dumping" of Soviet gold on the market. The result is an immediate fall in prices which, considering that the supply of the precious metal exceeds the demand for it on the world market, makes itself felt for a long time. It is no accident that a survey of the gold market published this spring in the newspaper LE MONDE was called "The Soviet Threat."

In an endeavor where possible to avoid the adverse consequence of this trading or for some other reasons, Soviet foreign trade organizations which have been assigned the task of selling gold have in recent years resorted to rather mysterious large-scale security operations.

Thus in the spring of 1990 some 200-300 tonnes of Soviet gold entered the banks of Zurich and London, deposited there as security at prices 25 percent below market prices. Within 6-12 months the USSR had either to redeem this gold or to hand it over to its creditors. Essentially it was a case of us receiving from the West a credit with an interest rate of 25 percent, secured by gold. The interest rate, which is unprecedentedly high for present day world practice, is ruinous for the state. Where this gold has gone, whether it was redeemed, and in whose accounts it was deposited is unknown to this day.

At the same time, according to British experts, 100-150 metric tonnes of extremely poor quality Soviet gold was shipped to Western Europe. To sell it on the market it was essential first of all to purify it in Britain. On the basis of the quality of the metal, the British surmised it had been extracted a very long time ago. What kind of gold was it? Why did they not process it at the well equipped Soviet refineries? Perhaps because it had come not from state reserves but some other reserves? All these questions require an answer or to be more precise a competent government investigation.

A similar investigation is required by the sales and deliveries of Soviet gold to communist regimes, which continued in 1990 and whose volume, according to foreign sources, has been close to 2,000 tonnes over the years of perestroyka.

The revelation of some of the secrets of Soviet gold will undoubtedly give rise to a whole complex of purely political problems. Few people know today that a considerable proportion of the Soviet gold mined today is produced not in Yakutia, not in Kolyma or Krasnoyarsk Kray but in Central Asia and in particular in Uzbekistan. Here, not far from Zaroshan City, in the desert, according to various assessments at least one third of all Soviet gold is produced (a figure of 60 percent is also cited). It is interesting that gold at this deposit is a by-product metal and the main substance extracted is uranium. Perhaps these facts will compel some experts to change their views as to which of the republics has given whom the most in our nonmarket socialist economy.

In addition, it would be a mistake to suppose that the economic functions of gold in the USSR are restricted to foreign economic aspects. Gold in large quantities is also circulating actively on the black market and in the shadow economy which, whether we want it or not, is a substantial component of the country's entire economy. Including in the payment of the shadow economy commodity imports and exports. In part it is a case of gold left in people's hands since prerevolutionary times. In part it is the metal which comes from state trade when it is stolen from mines.

But the most substantial flow of gold enters into the shadow economy circulation from nonstate, private production. This is done actively not only in Siberia and the Ukraine but also on enormous scales in Central Asia, where there are dozens of carefully concealed mines. A couple of years ago heavy and crude articles made from the gold thus produced could be bought at the bazaars of some Central Asian cities. Kulyab, for instance, was one such city. Nonstate production is also widely practised in the North Caucasus, on the Western spurs of the Caucasus, and elsewhere.

All this gold—and it is a question of hundreds of tonnes—is a potential financial reserve which could be used to create a market economy and to boost the country's economy. We merely have to create civilized

conditions for its legalization, deposit in banking institutions, and sale at world prices.

The change in the political status of individual regions of the USSR evidently may in the very near future seriously influence the role of Soviet gold in our country's economy and on the world market. Despite the attempts of the Glavalmazzoloto state concern to turn the gold mining and processing enterprises into joint-stock holding companies of the closed type, in the near future gold production will nonetheless evidently be taken under full control by the authorities locally.

That could lead to the temporary collapse of the entire gold production and purification complex, individual enterprises of which were located on USSR territory without any consideration for national-administrative realities. Nor is an absolute reduction in production volumes ruled out. In addition the republics, in transferring to financial autonomy, will obviously try to create their own gold reserves. All this will obviously reduce the influx of gold into the Union gold reserve and as a result onto world markets. Which, in turn, will increase the cost of the precious metal. In part this increase in prices will be to the advantage of gold owners in the USSR because their gold reserves will immediately increase in price, which instead of selling gold will enable them to resort more boldly to international credits secured by gold and to strengthen the national currency.

On the other hand, the end of the centralized use of gold could give rise to a crisis at the 12,000 industrial enterprise which now use gold in production processes. From the creation of remote controls for television sets to protective glass for pressure helmets for cosmonauts.

But even before Soviet gold is shared out and reshared we must all demand a report about how much of it has been and is being produced every year, how it has been and is being spent, and where gold deposits and production centers are located. It is the secret of the socialist regime without whose revelation it is impossible to create a normal monetary economy and agree on the fair partition of all-union property. Just as it is impossible to reveal all the gold manipulations of the recent rulers of the country, the party bosses.

State Bank Denies 'Gold Drain'

LD1109130891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] As we have already reported today, the British newspaper THE GUARDIAN, citing senior representatives of financial circles whose names are not given, has reported that gold to the value of about $4 billion has been secretly exported from the Soviet Union. The article also suggests that top officials in the CPSU, the KGB, and the army may have been involved in this unofficial gold drain.

A TASS correspondent asked USSR State Bank Chairman Gerashchenko to comment on the report. This information comes from a series of rumors," he remarked. "It has been known for gold to be sold to supplement the state's currency reserves, but this is done in extreme cases, for example, when major purchases of grain are to be made abroad. But all such operations are under our rigorous control. The system is such that it is only possible to export gold dust secretly in a microscopic quantity, but gold bars—excuse me, no! Well, thanks for that to Comrade Gerashchenko; he has reassured us. And yet, as the saying goes, there's no smoke without fire.

Privatization of Defense Industry Urged

PM1109104991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by E. Gonzalyez under the "Events and Commentaries" rubric: "We Stopped the Tanks That We Produced Ourselves. Should We Produce More?"]

[Text] The CPSU has been removed from power, the entire Cabinet of Ministers has been dismissed, the longest tentacles of the state security octopus have been cut off, the command posts in the Army are occupied by new people, and at street concerts the people are laughing at jokes that must greatly trouble the founding fathers in their graves.

But let us admit it honestly, are we untroubled on this side of the grave? After all, you can also look at the situation from a different vantage point. And then we will see that a group of Communists from the party apparatus is sitting in parliament, and all over the country party figures are just waiting to see whether the seals will soon be removed from the doors of party rayon committees. Ministries are functioning fine under the leadership of first or, at the very worst, second deputy ministers. Neither the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] nor the mysterious "Alpha" has been disbanded, they are just changing their home base or attachment. There are no fewer generals in the Army, not to mention colonels and majors, and no more accommodation has become available for them. As for the laughter... You cannot laugh forever—the strength to do so and the supply of jokes will not last.

And you need only take a serious look around to see not only the aforementioned obvious reasons for concern but also latent and fundamental causes which existed before the attempted coup d'etat and which still exist now. They may briefly be identified as follows: the presence of militant opposition to radical reforms and the absence of... democracy.

This assertion, of course, requires some justification, especially the second and seemingly paradoxical part. If there is no democracy, who was the victor recently? The democrats, of course. But this is still not democracy.

If by democracy we mean the participation of the people in running the country, then this did not and still does not exist. Constant participation, and not just in

bursts—at elections or on the barricades. The main thing is lacking: The dependence of representative organs of power on those whom they are supposed to represent. And if the present absolutely ineffective parliament finds itself out of a job, this will be due to efforts from above, not from below.

The lack of popular participation in administration could, of course, be compensated for by public competition between parties. But there is no sign of this at present. Where there was once no worthy opposition to the Communists, now we can see no opponents of the democrats.

We cannot see them, but they exist. A new defense minister has been appointed, and he states that about 80 percent of the generals must be replaced. Tell me, what will those generals do? Will they sit and wait for retirement, and when they are retired will they say thanks and send their regards? What is more, the material position of our middle-ranking officers has not improved and probably will not improve. Over the last six months it is said that 46 percent of the Union budget has gone on defense needs. How much more will have to go on this?

On the contrary, everyone wants to spend less on defense. But in that case what is the defense industry, which requires billions just for conversion, to produce? Nowadays we frequently repeat: The military-industrial complex, the military-industrial complex... But what is this? A lot. It includes whole cities built around enormous plants. There are dozens of these, if not more. The director in the city is god, czar, and military chief, so to speak. Note that in our country the military chief was always greater than a god.

And what now? There are no orders, funds, raw materials, products, or mass consumer goods for the "closed" cities, there is nothing to distribute—what sort of divinity is this? True, I know of former "mailboxes" [secret defense industry enterprises] where the same assembly line has long produced both military and civilian output. But what if the plant leadership takes another path—for example, if it dismisses some of its workers overnight? Or even simpler, if it engineers short but constant interruptions in supplies to the city—then the explosive mixture may be ready.

In the last 70-plus years we have gradually come to understand the nature of power in our own country. And it must be said that we have progressed a long way. It remains for us to take maybe the last step and come to understand that the CPSU, which has lost power, never had total power anyway. Moreover, the party was more of an instrument of power in the hands of the military-industrial complex. Something like a hammer that is handy for driving in nails. But if you do not have a hammer you can always pick up a stone.

We guessed who was behind N. Ryzhkov when, without sparing himself, he "buried" the "500 days" program. Needless to say, item number one in this program was structural changes to the economy. Changes that would not favor the military-industrial complex, of course. But we did not guess why the new premier, V. Pavlov, immediately announced that priority would be given to engineering and heavy industry in general. And how did Pavlov become premier? Even today we are still puzzled about this and we ask M. Gorbachev to explain why he suddenly chose him. But what if it was not he who made this choice?

But let's not speculate. The main thing is that society retains a group of people who wield real power, albeit not formulated in clear-cut structures. They are a very sizable group. They comprise officials of ministries and departments, which proliferated until recently. They include Army communists, captains of industry, and the feudal rural elite. They have something to lose. Moreover, it needs to be realized that many of them are now in a life or death situation. Or that is the way it seems to them, at any rate.

Fortunately, they find it hard or even impossible to reach agreement. But, after all, under certain conditions created by them an "army" could be raised from among the poverty-stricken civilian population. You need only point to the source of the trouble—the democrats. It is they with their market who have led to hunger, unemployment, and high prices. When we conservatives were running things, everything was available. Go and look into it—either they stole things or things were stolen from them. Either there will be hunger and unemployment or, like last year, they have decided to use scare tactics.

So what should be done? Should reform be abandoned so as not to provoke the beast? On the contrary, reform should be resolutely implemented, starting precisely with the military-industrial complex. This seems crazy and impossible—privatizing a tank or aircraft plant. You can at least privatize hairdressers' salons or stores. But what can these plants sell—tanks?

I have the pleasure of reporting that directors and general designers at aviation industry enterprises recently appealed to B. Yeltsin and I. Silayev to accelerate the privatization of these enterprises, creating corporations, concerns, and other associations. Naturally, with property ownership rights being transferred to the collectives.

Only we should not argue about whether rights should go to collectives or all comers, about whether they should privatize a concern or an association... All we are doing is discussing how to privatize things. It is time to get started. In any fashion. There is very little hope that conversion can be painlessly implemented through the efforts of the old administration and within the state enterprise framework. Think about it yourselves: People have spent their whole lives taking from society—and they have done so very successfully, making careers out of it. And are they now supposed to start giving something back as of tomorrow? They are unable to. And if

these aircraft plant directors want to learn how, they have to be given the chance immediately—before they change their minds.

We will demobilize the country all the same—whether we like it or not. Simply because we cannot feed such an army and the industry, science, and bureaucracy that service it. But demilitarization from above alone is risky and unreliable. It is a different matter if a city's population, plant workers, and their relatives realize that there is no milk in the stores today not because of those pesky democrats but because in the past they made armored personnel carriers instead of milking machines.

Admittedly, as yet they have no chance to choose. That is why we need economic reform, privatization, free prices, stock exchanges, and other market attributes that are so little known and frightening to all of us.

Reorganized Railroads Seen Still Facing Problems

PM1109155391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Sep 91 p 1

["Commentary" by Vladimir Sluzhakov: "They Shared Out the Property, but Nobody Was Happy"]

[Text] So, not a month had passed since the demise of the last of the loyal standard-bearers of that great leader of the peoples, People's Commissar for Railways Lazar Kaganovich, when the Ministry of Railways—a state within a state—started going to pieces. The spirit of the railroads top brass was perhaps expressed in one presumptuous phrase which was greeted with applause: "Transport will exist in any perestroyka; they will not be able to manage without us." That is how the 43d and last minister hastened to show his loyalty to the new regime and was ingloriously sent into retirement.

However, it is indeed difficult for our vast expanses to do without railroads.

The echo from the rumble of the tanks sent in by the State Committee for the State of Emergency sounded the message that the empire was ready to simply collapse and crush everyone under its debris. The republics, declaring their sovereignty one after the other, have started taking control of transport systems to split them into pieces. A repetition of the 1917 situation is threatened, when revolutionary sailors seized power and the factories but did not know what to do with them.

According to Georgiy Tsomay, Georgia's deputy minister of transport, a catastrophe could occur and all communications could be paralyzed if some people's political ambitions get the upper hand. "We are too closely attached to each other, we are too dependent on each other." This is more than topical for Georgia. At the moment it is again experiencing a transport blockade.

On 4 September the Committee for Operational Management of the Union National Economy gave republic transport ministers 12 hours to answer the question: What is to be done with the central ministries—the embodiment of all the misfortunes and evils from which the republics are now escaping without further ado? Full credit must be given: Common sense still prevailed over the destructive political view of the economy.

You can curse the much-hated departments all you want, but right now, today, simply nothing can be suggested to replace them. And it emerged that not a single republic, not even Russia or the Baltic region, is in a position to continue transport operations without a unified administration center: either by air, or land, or sea.

Meanwhile, while reproaching Russia for allegedly aspiring to the role of the new center, certain representatives of republics would not be averse to assuming the cares and troubles of running a complex economy on the "elder brother " principle. Others would like to limit themselves to bilateral treaties and thereby avoid maintaining operational structures. Russian Minister of Transport Vitaliy Yefimov had to be reminded that there are no seniors or juniors now—everyone is equal. And anyone who thinks and hopes that Russia is once again going to pay for some people is mistaken.

After a lengthy debate the 13 republic transport leaders still decided to retain the existing procedure for managing transport operations for the time being. The ministers will meet again toward the end of September in order to discuss the forms of and deadlines for the reorganization of common state structures and the formation of new interrepublic structures. True, the reorganization deadlines were not indicated in the protocol expressly to avoid causing panic among specialists in the ministries' apparatus. By that time they might have made their getaway. And as a rule the better ones are leaving.

The first hurdle has been cleared. However, won't tomorrow bring, instead of one gigantic Ministry of Railways, 13 small ministries which are hardly likely to be more efficient? According to Yefimov, the preparation of market structures is already being carried out in Russia. Twenty civil aviation administrations which will together form a Russian aviation holding company have been earmarked for flotation. He would not object if the republic's ships and ports were floated, with shared participation by all republics. This proposal was made to Estonia in relation to Novo-Tallinskiy port, but so far it has not received any support or response.

As regards the railroads, they will be treated more carefully. Several concerns will form a consortium based on 17 railroads. State capital investments are essential here. And local main lines will also be floated and sold to companies. Ultimately state functions must be separated from economic functions, and they will be taken over by a small number of departments under the Ministry of Transport. The Transport Ministers' Council will form an interrepublic structure which will deal with tariffs, legislation, and modernization of management systems.

What will come out of all these innovations? Honestly, things could not be any worse than they are now. That is something at least. After all, payment will still have to be made in old bills of exchange, and transport cannot get any more run-down. But there is no money for new airplanes, freight cars, or ships; the coffers are empty.

Meanwhile the Russian Ministry of Transport fears sabotage by the conservative section of the Ministry of Railways leadership. This is perhaps one of the more real fears that the new republic authorities could very soon encounter.

Agricultural

Committee Addresses Food Supply Question

914A1135A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 3 Sep 91 p 2

[Unattributed article: "As Far as Peasants Are Concerned. In the Committee for Current Management of the USSR National Economy"]

[Text] A regular meeting of the Committee for Operational Management of the USSR National Economy chaired by I.S. Silayev was held. This was reported by the committee's press service.

A Resolution "On Urgent Measures To Provide Foodstuffs for the Populace" was adopted. It provides for acquiring the lacking amounts of transportation vehicles and labor resources from enterprises, organizations, offices, and educational establishments regardless of their institutional affiliation. The managers of enterprises are fully responsible for organizing the completion of harvesting, transportation, and storage of agricultural products from the 1991 harvest.

It was resolved to consider the volume of grain purchases toward state requisitions and the tax in kind, revised in keeping with the actual crop, minimal and mandatory in that they must be unconditionally accomplished on the basis of personal accountability.

It was decided to set up a special stock of material resources for selling trucks and passenger cars, tractors, construction materials, as well as refrigerators, TV sets, washing machines, and sewing machines in return for grain, potatoes, cotton, and other agricultural products delivered to the state.

The resolution introduced procedures whereby the execution of instructions by the Committee for Operational Management of the USSR National Economy concerning the deliveries of grain and foodstuffs to all-Union consumers, inter-republic delivery, and shipments of foodstuffs to the areas of the Far North, is mandatory. The issues of mutual settlements will be considered in the process of developing and signing the Economic Agreement and the confirmation of balance sheets for foodstuffs in 1992.

On instructions from the Committee for Operational Management of the USSR National Economy, the USSR Ministry of Defense will redeploy military motor vehicles taking part in harvesting and use personnel from military units and military schools, and their means of transportation and other technical resources, to harvest potatoes, vegetables, and other crops.

Food Situation 'Difficult,' Not 'Hopeless'

PM1109161591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Article by M. Petrov: "Food Situation Difficult, But Not Hopeless"]

[Text] Before the putsch little was said about the prospect of famine. Now that the demand for information about how those arrested in connection with the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] case are being kept in detention has been more or less satisfied, all or nearly all the media feel obliged to warn about the threat of a feed shortage. Sometimes going over the top.

I am not a television critic, but after watching the food item in the "2100" program on 9 September I too fell prey to melancholy. An hour before I had talked with a participant in the aforementioned item, G. Kulik, member of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] minister of agriculture and food. My interlocutor, who talked about the committee's current work, confirmed his previous view of the "hunger problem": The situation in the food market is difficult, but completely under control. This is guaranteed by the joint actions of representatives of all the republics (excluding Lithuania), who are actively involved in the committee's work: They are watching over the unswerving implementation of the current interrepublican economic agreement and are preparing a new one for 1992. And the republics are agreed that there will be a separate food agreement, as a special part of the new agreement. It is a total mystery how the "2100" journalists managed to present the item in such a way that all the viewer wanted to do was go to the nearest store the next day and buy everything that was still edible.

According to G. Kulik, supplies of meat and milk to union and republic stocks have not been disrupted. The sugar situation is somewhat worse. But the sugar beet harvest is now under way and the sugar refineries have started up.

There have been problems supplying Moscow and St. Petersburg with potatoes and vegetables. But the city halls in both capitals are reacting promptly to delivery hiccups: They are sending people to visit the suppliers, they are adopting the requisite measures, and things are getting better. According to specialist forecasts, despite all the problems, we will lay in just as many potatoes and

vegetables as last year. A perfectly adequate amount of butter will be produced this winter from our own raw material.

Nonetheless, the main concern today is grain. Much depends on whether the country gathers a sufficient quantity of it. But if you look at the problem sensibly, without getting hysterical, it is clear that the harvest this year is no smaller than in, for example, the extremely average year of 1989. The 120 million tonnes that have already been threshed are not in Africa and not on the moon, but right here in the country's farms. It is more a problem of buying the grain from the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Certainly the state, in this case the operational committee, has to be as inventive as possible.

There has been a lot of talk recently about a grain exchange as a means of rapidly solving the food problem. The job of the practical experts, invested with power, moreover, is to heed the advice of the scientists, specialists, and entrepreneurs.

A group of U.S. experts commissioned by G. Bush is in the country at the moment. They are also actively participating in the work of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Econonmy. According to G. Kulik, their impression of what they have seen is that unusual methods must be used to help, that is, not just supply more food or provide large, long-term credits. It is also important to give support by means of advanced ideas which have already proved a practical success in the United States. In particular, they are concerned that individual peasant farms should not miss out on U.S. aid. The operational committee leadership has assured the experts that some of the imported forage grain will be used to provide individual farms with feed.

We are entirely capable of feeding ourselves. There is one essential condition, though: We must not panic, but work, which includes working with foreign partners. And this statement is not a placebo. It is more a sober assessment of the actual situation.

U.S. Aid Good; Help With Harvest Necessary

914A1151A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 5 Sep 91 p 1

[Article by Mikhail Sharov under the rubric "On the Topics of the Day": "It Is Fine To Put Your Hopes on Bush, But Ultimately It Depends on You"]

[Text] Two reports came in on the editorial board's teletype almost simultaneously. The first was from the "White House" on Krasnopresenskiy in Moscow where the Russian Government is located, and the second was from the White House in Washington.

These reports have, despite their very different geographic origins, a common meaning and a common tone of anxiety. Both the first and the second talk about immediate measures undertaken to provide food to the population of our country. A state of emergency is arising here. The state order for the sale of grain is only 35 percent fulfilled according to the latest data of USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics]. State purchases of fodders, vegetables, and potatoes are proceeding significantly worse than last year. And this is at the end of the height of the harvest effort! Many have spoken of famine at gathering places and written of it in the press, and now it has inexorably arrived at our threshold.

Now a few words about the aforementioned reports.

At a news conference last Tuesday Edward Madigan, U.S. secretary of agriculture, supported the intention expressed by President Bush to offer food aid to the Soviet Union. He declared the readiness of the United States to make up for the food shortage in the USSR this coming winter should it prove necessary.

The Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy of the USSR headed by I.S. Silayev, prime minister of Russia, passed a decree last Tuesday which stipulates a number of very important measures. The governments of the republics and the executive and administrative organs of the local soviets are directed to hold the leaders of the enterprises, organizations, and institutions responsible for sending the missing transport and labor resources to the countryside to complete the harvest and state purchases of fodders. Personal responsibility for the sale of grain has also been entrusted to the chairman of the kolkhozes, the directors of the sovkhozes, and the leaders of other agricultural enterprises and organizations. In addition, it is stressed that the volumes of the state grain purchases counted toward the state order and the tax in kind and adjusted in accordance with the actual harvest must be rigorously fulfilled. For the preparations of the private farms for winter it was decided to enlist any construction organizations without worrying about what departments they are subordinate to and to use the material and technical resources allotted to them for the urgent needs of the livestock breeders. The decree also defined measures for additional stimulation of the farms: directing market funds for the sale of cars, refrigerators, televisions, washing and sewing machines, and other goods in demand to be sold in return for grain, potatoes, cotton, and other agricultural products.

I will say candidly that the measures undertaken by I.S. Silayev's committee smack in many ways of the volitional rulings of the former administrative command system. And there is no reason to deny it. But these same "unpopular" measures are dictated first and foremost by concern for our daily bread. And one can only regret that these measures are belated, although the recently created Committee for Operational Management bears no blame for this, of course. And one can only regret that the emergency measures for saving the harvest which were adopted in a number of the regions of the country four to

six weeks ago, which a few self-styled "expert" journalists from Moscow condemned and sabotaged, were not extended over the whole country.

And what a need there was for this! Leaf through the pages of SELSKAYA ZHIZN and you will become convinced of this. The countryside uttered a heart-rending cry on the pages of the newspaper appealing to the conscience and good sense of the City, the parliaments, and the presidents: Do not abandon us! Help us harvest what we have grown—everyone needs to eat! On 19 March in my article "Will the Hammer Help the Sickle?", reflecting on the condition of enslavement the countryside finds itself in and how anyone who wants to may rob it, resulting in exorbitantly high prices for equipment, construction materials, and services, your must humble servant wrote: "I am afraid of what will happen to all of us, builders and drivers, bureaucrats and metalworkers, makers of shoes and meat pies, leftists and rightists, if the peasant's patience comes to an end in the autumn and he too takes a stand and says, 'Come no closer!'"

Alas, the timely cries of the countryside and the voices of the journalists and authors of SELSKAYA ZHIZN were not heard either in the City nor by the presidents and the parliaments. In conjunction with this I will cite another of my articles, "How Does a Power Support Itself" prefaced with the alarming rubric "If We Defend the Countryside We Will Save the Country!", published in the 5 June issue of SELSKAYA ZHIZN: "The country has survived strikes by the miners, and it would have survived the aborted strike of the air traffic controllers. But the country will not last even a week if the countryside goes on strike. I very much wish that this simple truth would finally be recognized in the cities and that they would come to the appropriate conclusions as quickly as possible."

Three months have passed since that time. And finally this decree, long-awaited by the village and dictated by the existing situation in the food market, has been adopted! We breathe a sigh of relief and hope: All is not yet lost, the harvest may still be saved if all of us, journalists and students, drivers and builders, makers of shoes and meat pies, leftists and rightists, reject our former irresponsible attitudes and—finally!—address the constant and urgent problems of the breadwinners of the country. We trust that the difficult lessons of this year's harvest effort will teach something to the members of our parliaments and to our presidents, who have only been speaking about priorities for the countryside but have not done anything substantial and fundamental to implement these words. We hope that finally common sense and concern for our daily bread will triumph over departmental ambitions and corporate egoism.

At the same time I would very much like to hope and believe that the breadwinners of the country, recognizing all the difficulty of the situation in the food stores, will reject their own embittered attitude and do all that they can, everything possible and impossible, to allay our fears of an approaching famine. We will be eternally grateful to them for that!

Omsk Yields Down 30-50 Percent From Last Year

PM1109122991 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 8 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast: Report by V. Morozova and K. Dudin, identified by caption, from Omsk Oblast farm]

[Text] [Morozova] Even the most advanced farming techniques could not have saved the harvest this year. As a result of the long spell of hot weather, grasses grew slowly at first and then withered altogether. Because of the lack of moisture, cereals did not gain bulk. Even the winter crops were unable to endure the terrible drought. As a result yields will be 30 to 50 percent below last year's. Because of secondary growth and excessive weed infestation farms are having to refrain from using combine harvesters. Work is proceeding more slowly, but this makes it possible to take greater care to preserve straw, which is very valuable this year. In order to lay in good stocks, procurement agents have been sent out to northern rayons, where the situation is somewhat better, and are also concluding contracts with other regions.

The situation is slightly less complex wherever additional measures were taken.

[N.I. Gushcha, director of "Omskiy" state farm, identified by caption] Fields on which winter crops had perished were resown with grain and silage mixtures.

[Morozova] At the "Omskiy" state pedigree farm they are planning to make use even of pea straw, which they used to burn in the past. It's not only the need to save the pedigree stock but also a desire to operate at a profit which is forcing the farm workers to look for new solutions.

The state pedigree farm has recently joined an all-Union joint-stock company. Some of the fixed assets have been bought from the state. Their cost has been spread among the workers' personal accounts.

[Gushcha] Mutual relations between the farm's internal subdivisions—there are 24 of them—are getting sharper, that is, they're beginning to compete with each other and labor productivity is rising as a result.

Scientific Advances Aid Grain, Potato Farmers

PM1109120191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 8 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast: Report by G. Sytykh, identified by caption, from the Kazakh Agricultural Institute Karaganda scientific research sovkhoz]

[Text] Looking at these fields you get the impression that it has rained regularly here and that the sun was kind to the crops, rather than scorching the soil. Take a look at this wheat. The ears are plump and even. According to the most conservative estimates, yields here will total at least 15 quintals per hectare.

Yet throughout the summer months the sun was scorching and there was no rain. By rights, the shoots should have withered back in June. This crop has been grown with the help of science. Staffers at the Kazakh Agricultural Institute have elaborated special farming techniques which make it possible to retain moisture deep down in the soil where no drought can reach it. And during the dry season plants utilize this moisture very economically. You can see the result for yourselves.

The crop is excellent also on the potato plantations. Every hectare yields some 350 quintals of potatoes.

The problem here is a different one. Virtually all the tubers are affected by fungal or viral diseases. Science has helped to get rid of this problem too. Potatoes here are not grown from tubers, since this is how the diseases are passed on. They are grown from cells. And the crop is totally disease-free. The whole crop is elite seed stock. This year alone the farm will make a profit of some seven million rubles.

There are two lessons to be learned from this: Combining science with production more than pays for itself. And, if we succeed in utilizing the reserves contained in research work, the food situation could be rectified relatively quickly in our country and, what is more, without depending too much on the weather.

Scientific

Nuclear Plant Construction Program Curtailed

OW0909222591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2047 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR's program for expanding the nuclear power industry by the year 2000, launched in 1983, will not be carried out. The USSR Nuclear Power Industry Ministry has said that over the past five years not a single nuclear power plant unit began to be built, although the 1983 program set a target of putting into operation about 140 units by the turn of the century. A mere 46 units have gone into operation so far.

One of the main reasons for curtailing nuclear power programs is the public's firm opposition to atomic power plants, which became particularly strong in the wake of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear power plant disaster, experts said.

Currently, the USSR's 15 nuclear power plants having a total output of 36 million kilowatts accounting for 12.5 percent of the country's electricity production (in the European part of the USSR up to 30 percent).

Sale of Mir Space Station to West Denied

LD1109155791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Semenov, chief designer of the Energiya scientific production association, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, has categorically denied reports from certain foreign media saying that the Soviet space station Mir could be sold to a Western firm. Everything, including space technology, he stressed, has to have an owner. The space facility was created and is being exploited by the collective of the scientific production association, and all future foreign economic ties concerning the complex are the prerogative of the Energiya scientific production association.

In this sense, the USSR Glavkosmos has nothing to do with the station. Certainly, the station could—and should—become an international space laboratory, but the relevant agreements to do this have to be with Energiya.

Future of 'Collapsing' Space Sector Viewed

PM1109145791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[M. Chernyshov article: "Space Paralysis. What Future Awaits This Priority Sector?"]

[Text] The Western press is predicting the imminent collapse of the Soviet space program. That is one view. On the other hand, others are voicing the need for the nationalization of space, the creation of a Russian space effort, the transfer of Baykonur to Kazakh ownership, and so forth. Just what is actually happening? It is extremely difficult to get any clear answers to these questions from leading circles: All administrative structures are in the process of endless reorganization. But what do people at lower levels think?

I met with an old acquaintance of mine. An engineer and group leader, he works at the "Energiya" Science and Production Association. Here is his view:

"We're marking time at the moment. We've concluded contracts with the Austrians, Germans, and French. These will have to be fulfilled, but our own program is really collapsing. Nobody has any idea why 'Mir' was launched. All the talk about miracle crystals or photographs of the earth being 'in the interests of the national economy' now stick in our throats, since they sound empty. Nobody particularly needed the pictures even before, and with our current collapse they need them even less.

"As far as I am aware, attempts have been made to convert certain production facilities. Some kinds of artificial limbs were manufactured, but they were too expensive. Our invalids and patients cannot afford them.

Such things are expensive in the West too. But there people have medical insurance, and there are state subsidies. But we forgot about such 'trivia,' nobody can buy such things with their pathetic pensions. And so, despite the glaring shortages, a lot of what has been produced is lying around in plant warehouses..."

Here is another conversation. This time with a specialist from the USSR Main Administration for the Development and Use of Space Technology for the National Economy and Scientific Research.

"It has long been obvious to all," my interlocutor said, "that the priorities in our space program are wrong. For instance, we could manufacture an excellent communications satellite and make good money out of it. Satellite communications are literally a gold mine. We have had proposals from abroad asking to buy satellites and individual communications channels from us. Admittedly, in order to successfully sell such output we would have to drastically improve its quality. But we've put all our funds into work on projects such as 'Buran.' In general, when programs were being planned and financed money was allocated not on the basic of objective criteria but on the basis of which general designer was friendly with which officials. The space program should be shaped by an independent organ..."

[Chernyshov] Have you yourself tried to change anything?

[Specialist] Nothing depends on us. Our hands continue to be tied.

[Chernyshov] Is anyone currently in control of the state of affairs in the sector? After all, it covers dozens, if not hundreds, of plants, design bureaus, and research institutes.

[Specialist] I don't think anyone is... [Specialist ends]

I am quoting these depressing thoughts in order to demonstrate just how badly informed we are about the state of affairs not only at lower level, but also at the middle management level. Yet there have been some improvements in the sector. New administrative structures have gradually begun to emerge on the basis of the sectors—general machine building, communications, health care, and others—which were involved with the space program.

Traditionally it was the case that basic space industry enterprises were located on the territories of three republics: Russia, the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. The other day a conference of the directors of these enterprises was held and decided that three republic space corporations would be set up. Space enterprises are being transformed into concerns which will be part of these corporations. They will all operate autonomously, and there will be no hierarchical coordination.

Each republic, on the basis of its needs, determines the direction of work in the space program. Material resources and finance will be correspondingly allocated on this basis. It is clear that each corporation will find it difficult to implement its plans in isolation. The key point here is not to destroy the existing links between space enterprises. An accord has been reached on work under the former system. However, all relations will be switched to a financial footing...

This is one of the most vexed questions. Secrecy, the financing of programs from various sources, and other reasons have led to a situation whereby essentially nobody in our country knows the cost of space output and space services. We are already setting prices after a fashion—by analogy—on the international market. These prices are very low in freely convertible currency, but quite high compared with our domestic rates. On this basis, incidentally, space officials at various levels are trying to show that they can carry out profitable commercial contracts with foreign partners. To all intents and purposes this is self-deception or self-consolation, call it what you will.

A leader of the Ministry of General Machine Building gave us the following figures: A launch of a small Soviet rocket costs 1.5 million rubles; the launch of a similar U.S. rocket costs $75 million. Convert this into the current free-market ruble-dollar rates and you will see the scale of the divergence between the real cost of something and the mythical costs still to be found in many of our economic documents. Against this backdrop even a highly damaging contract—from the standpoint of world prices—can be presented to our public as entirely justifiable and profitable...

Let us return, however, to domestic matters. The "triumvirate" of corporations (Russian, Ukrainian, and Kazakh) is inviting all other republics—if interested—to join the aforesaid association. Admittedly, not so much to provide finance as to supply production and resource potential.

How will the system be administered? It is thought that in the transitional period one of the three corporation presidents could be elected as coordinator of general programs for a certain period.

But in principle the creation of republic space programs gives rise to many other issues. Just take Baykonur, the largest Soviet space center. It has existed for more than 30 years. Just what is Baykonur? First, it consist of vast territories, which had been, as it were, previously confiscated from Kazakhstan and placed under all-union or departmental jurisdiction. Second, it is a range of highly complex engineering facilities—launch pads, giant assembly shops, oxygen and other plants, and tracking stations. In a certain sense Baykonur starts in Kazakhstan but extends further east across the whole country. Baykonur is also a city which is primarily home to military specialists.

The nationalization of the space center—if things go that far—will give rise to fundamentally new problems. Just how will all its services be organized?

First and foremost, specialists believe, it is necessary to recalculate the cost of space services—and this is already being discussed. Republics will be spending real rather than imaginary money when they launch rockets. They will use this money to invite from other republics those people who are capable of skillfully servicing the equipment. A relationship with foreign clients could be built up in a similar fashion.

Soviet Cosmonauts Work on Gallium Arsenide

LD0109025191 Moscow TASS in English 1601 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—The crew of the Mir space station continue work to produce in orbit top-quality semiconductors for the needs of instrument-making and microelectronics. Today, Soviet cosmonauts Anatoliy Artsebarsky and Sergey Krakilev will carry out welding operations on the gallar technological plant to grow the monocrystal of gallium arsenide.

In the morning, the cosmonauts took pictures of several parts of land and sea using videospectral equipment.

With the help of the propulsion unit of the Progress M-9 freighter, the cosmonauts carried out several corrections of the space station's trajectory to lift it to a higher orbit.

Joint Project With U.S. Inspecting Ozone Layer

LD0809173191 Moscow TASS in English 1323 GMT 8 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Khrustov]

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—A Soviet Meteor-3 satellite staffed with U.S. equipment to study the earth's ozone layer, which was launched three weeks ago, is successfully carrying out space research, Soviet Defence Ministry mission control centre told TASS.

The centre has been operating for 30 years. It monitored all automatic space apparatuses, including sea, weather, communications and other satellites for the benefit of various economic branches.

The Meteor-3 carries a U.S. spectrometer of high resolution to map out the planet's ozone layer.

The depletion of the ozone layer is a mutual concern of scientists from various countries. They hope information, which comes to an aerological observatory of the Soviet hydrometeorological committee and their U.S. colleagues, will help find ways to save the layer.

0U.S. Space Specialists Ordered Out During Coup

917Q0180 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 91 p 4

[Article by B. Konovalov, IZVESTIYA scientific observer: "The Attempt to Torpedo Soviet-American Cooperation Did Not Succeed", first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Data has started to come in from the American instrument installed on the Soviet "Meteor-3" satellite.

The putsch forced the American specialists who developed the TOMS instrument for mapping our planet's ozone layer to leave the Soviet Union immediately. Craig Covault, editor of the well-known American journal AVIATION WEEK & SPACE TECHNOLOGY who was in our country as a guest of IZVESTIYA, also had to leave the USSR under emergency conditions. We had been with him at the Plesetsk cosmodrome and we were heartened by the successful start of this major Soviet-American space program.

Sixteen years had passed between the "Apollo-Soyuz" flight and this major new joint project. Soviet and American scientists, engineers, and workers had spent three years laboring to realize this project—the first such after many years of cool relations between our countries. The military coup—if it had been successful—would have derailed all of this, as well as the plans for future space cooperation. This and many other things besides. Our country would have been in scientific and economic isolation from the entire civilized world.

The American specialists left our country with bitterness. But in order that the many years of effort would not be lost and to leave some hope for the future they permitted our specialists to work independently with the American TOMS instrument.

And so the ozone patrol above our planet has successfully started to operate. We were informed by V.I. Adasko, technical director of the project for the Soviet side and director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Electromechanics, that good quality telemetry data is being received in the Soviet Union and in the U.S. The U.S. has obtained the first maps of the ozone layer. Now the entire international community will obtain precise data on the condition of the ozone layer which protects all living things on our planet from the harmful ultraviolet radiation of the sun.

Military

Union, Republic Officials Discuss Nuclear Arms

LD1209060291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0000 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] In Moscow yesterday the consultative meeting of authorized republican representatives, the leadership of the Union Ministry of Defense, and USSR people's deputies ended. They exchanged opinions on the main conceptions of military reform, of the principles for military construction, providing for individual and collective security of the states that have adopted a declaration of sovereignty, as well those that have announced their independence.

All the participants in the meeting confirmed that the management of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction and control over them should be unified.

Shaposhnikov: Center To Control Arms

LD1109183391 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovsk]

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Soviet Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov today said the main result of the inter-republican consultative meeting of authorized representatives of sovereign republics and the leadership of the Soviet Defence Ministry, which ended here today, was that it "allowed us to discuss, for the first time in many years, urgent problems of concern both for the centre and republics".

Shaposhnikov told TASS that during the meeting an understanding and mutual agreement had been reached concerning the basic concepts and directions of military reform and principles of military building ensuring individual and collective security of the states which have adopted the declaration of sovereignty, as well as those which have proclaimed their independence.

According to the defence minister, participants in the meeting agreed that the armed forces should remain intact and the nuclear missiles be controlled from the centre.

Shaposhnikov said that representatives of the sovereign republics largely shared the concept proposed by the Soviet defence ministry for the building of the armed forces.

"I believe that reform aimed at democratizing army life will be met with understanding in our society," the minister said.

Shaposhnikov Meets Baltic Representatives

OW1109115291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1015 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday in Moscow the USSR Defence Minister Evgeniy Shaposhnikov met representatives of the Baltic states: Latvian Prime-Minister Ivars Godmanis, Lithuanian Vice-Premier Zigmas Vaisvila and Estonian Minister of State Raivo Vare.

Vare told BF [BALTFAX] that the meeting discussed the closure of drafting stations, the Organization in Support of the Soviet Army and Navy and civil defence structures in the territories of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and the transition of their property under local jurisdiction.

According to the Estonian official, Ministry representatives reaffirmed that all conscripts as well as officers from the Baltic republics will be freed from Soviet Army service if they wish.

He said that though an understanding on the withdrawal of Soviet Army units from the Baltic states has been reached, the pullout itself might not be as fast as Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania would want it to be.

"The first steps were easy and fast to take, but now concrete questions have to be solved, and it is my personal impression that the Ministry people are trying to drag out the process," Vare said.

In an interview with BF the head of the Lithuanian Home Defence Department Audrius Butkevicius has described the Moscow meeting as a step forward. He said that the Soviet side demonstrated understanding of the feelings of the Baltic states that "do not want to have the Soviet Army in their territories."

New Army Commander Envisages Changes

LD0909135391 Moscow TASS in English 1256 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—The future of the Soviet armed forces will depend on the Union treaty, new Soviet army commander Colonel General Vladimir Semenov told TASS.

"Only a strong union state can equip the army with state-of-the- art weapons," Semenov said.

"Until recently we did not feel radical changes. I am gladdened by the fact that the Soviet defence minister, supported by the Soviet president, supports radical changes," he said, commenting on military reforms.

"A whole package of suggestions is being devised by the defence ministry and several public organisations," he said.

Changes in the armed forces will be introduced very soon, he said.

New Commander of Airborne Troops Interviewed

PM1209093991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Lieutenant General Ye.N. Podkolzin, commander of the Airborne Troops, by correspondent Colonel A. Oliynik; date and place not specified; first paragraph is introduction: "Highly Mobile Troops"]

[Text] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already announced that Lieutenant General Yevgeniy Nikolayevich Podkolzin has been appointed commander of the Airborne Troops. Our correspondent spoke to him.

[Oliynik] The newspaper's readers are interested in who precisely has taken charge of the Airborne Troops, which played a great role in thwarting the coup d'etat. Please tell us about yourself, Yevgeniy Nikolayevich, and your family.

[Podkolzin] I was born in 1936 to a working class family in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast. I spent my childhood and adolescence there in Kazakhstan. In 1958 I graduated from Alma-Ata's Airborne School and all my subsequent service has been in the winged guard. I left it twice—during my training at the M.V. Frunze Military Academy and the General Staff Military Academy. I have held virtually all command posts and have spent the last six years in charge of the Airborne Troops Staff. I am married with two grownup sons. They have not followed in their father's footsteps, so to speak. One is an engineer, the other a teacher. My wife is a medical worker and works in a polyclinic.

[Oliynik] You have become commander of the Airborne Troops at a difficult time for the Army. If it is no secret, how did you begin your work in your new post?

[Podkolzin] How? Probably by analyzing the responsibility that our troops bear and thus that I bear, as their commander. If you analyze the events of the dreadful three days of the putsch, you realize what a tragedy might have occurred if our former commander, Colonel General Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev, had not been firm and had submitted to the plotters. I concluded that the Army, including the Airborne Troops, must henceforth on no pretext be placed on the streets or stifle interethnic conflicts. Incidentally, in the last four years we have lost more than 100 men in such conflicts and even more have been wounded. All this affects the troops' prestige and their morale. Although short, the history of the Airborne Troops has included so many examples of heroism and courage that it has rightfully transformed the winged guard into a prestigious category of troops. Believe you me, these is not just big talk. I consider it my main task to protect and increase the glorious traditions of the Airborne Troops, along with their mobility.

[Oliynik] Reorganization has begun in the Armed Forces and whole structures are being abolished. How do the airborne servicemen view the changes?

[Podkolzin] With understanding. Probably more than in any other category of troops our units and formations are commanded by relatively young men. Many of them experienced the furnace of Afghanistan and have a wealth of combat experience. The officer corps of the Airborne Troops has always championed high combat skill for its personnel. And of course, there has been backing for concrete steps to professionalize the Army. We try to prevent people from being diverted from training since this has an immediate impact on troops' skill. It is well known, for instance, that the Vitebsk airborne division has been transferred to the USSR KGB troops. So in a short period of time the soldiers and officers of this combat formation, which bore the brunt of the Afghan war, have rapidly begun to lose their skills in parachute training and tying down combat hardware. The omission must be repaired within a short period.

Party structures and military-political organs have been abolished. This has affected thousands of people, the overwhelming majority of whom are dedicated to military duty and are highly trained officers. When carrying out organizational-staff measures we will be attentive to everyone who has devoted his life and youth to the airborne troops.

[Oliynik] How do you regard the idea of a professional army?

[Podkolzin] My answer, as someone who has given more than 35 years to Army service, is unequivocally positive. Any job must be done professionally. The first steps have been taken toward organizing service on a contract basis. As in the Navy, a similar experiment is being conducted in an Airborne Troops unit. Its results are evidence that material incentives considerably help boost troops' combat skill.

I also cannot fail to mention the following. Such lofty concepts as officer's honor and comradely relations—regardless of rank and post—are being revived in the Army and Navy. I will try to ensure that the Airborne Troops remain troops with high mobility and supreme combat readiness where duty and honor take priority over everything. In no circumstances should the Airborne Troops be used as an instrument or tool in political confrontation within the country. Their purpose is to defend the Fatherland and serve the people on the basis of the USSR Constitution.

Gromov Says Conscience 'Clear' on Coup

LD1109222491

[Editorial report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2015 GMT on 8 September airs a 20-minute interview with Army General Boris Gromov by correspondent Aleksandr Tikhomirov on the program "Personal Opinion."

The interview begins with Tikhomirov asking Gromov if he would want to retract any particular moment. Gromov says he has never abandoned his principles. The only thing he wants is for no one to use his name in any political games. Asked how it was that he found himself not defending the White House and not supporting the putschists, but somewhere between the two, he says: "Not many people know where I was or what I was doing. I can say quite sincerely, albeit after some lapse of time, that as a person in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs system responsible for internal troops—and before that for public security, and lately responsible for internal troops, although the minister is legally responsible for them—I coordinated the internal troops and the central apparatus and other departments on various missions throughout the Soviet Union.

"I considered my task difficult at that time. I started work here late on the evening of 19 August. I considered my main task as being to prevent the internal troops and especially the excellently trained Dzerzhinskiy Division, excellently trained for street action, from going onto Moscow's streets, not just from taking part in anything, but from going onto Moscow's streets at all. I achieved this main task.

"On 20 August, when the first deputy minister and I saw Pugo, we told him plainly that the so-called State Committee and all the decisions it had made would eventually come to no good. And you well realize that all this is unlawful, we said. A man of few words, he would usually signal confirmation by means of a slight smile and shrug, and we soon all knew at the ministry that he had given the go ahead. We categorically assured him that the internal troops would not go into Moscow. We came to an agreement with General Dubinyak, acting commander of the internal troops, so as to block the actions of the internal troops in Moscow.

"On 20 August, two unarmed battalions of the Dzerzhinskiy Division were on Manezh Square for a few hours when there was to be a rally, and they went away after that. They acted as the Moscow Militia on Manezh Square. Apart from that, there was not a single soldier in Moscow from that division all those days. I consider we fulfilled our task in this respect.

"On the morning of Sunday 18 August, Varennikov rang me at the sanatorium and asked me to come to Benbek airfield, saying he was flying to Odessa military district for exercises. I went to the airfield at about 1620 and was told that at about 1600 a group of about 10-12 persons had arrived, and that they had returned about three hours later. When their car came up to the plane, the first one I saw alight from the car was the former head of Gorbachev's bodyguard, Medvedev, then Boldin, Shenin, Baklanov, and Varennikov, and 10 or so other people dressed in civilian clothes.

"Varennikov came up to me and said: Are you flying to Moscow? I asked: What for? Varennikov said the situation in the country had deteriorated sharply and it was necessary to fly to Moscow.

"I replied: I will not fly to Moscow, explaining that I had my minister and was not in the Defense Ministry but in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. We said goodbye and I went back to the sanatorium. He stayed at the airfield while the plane flew to Moscow without him. Later it transpired that Varennikov had flown to Kiev for a talk with Kravchuk."

The correspondent says this is a lesson. Gromov says it is a big lesson for all. Speaking of Gromov's position, Tikhomirov asks if it was neutral.

"My position was not neutral," Gromov says. "My position was aimed at preventing bloodshed, so that the internal troops should not go into Moscow and take part in this business. This policy was directed at thwarting all the plans which were afoot in this respect in the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE]. It was not a neutral position. It was not the position of a person who kept silent and did nothing."

Tikhomirov asks Gromov when he got the feeling the SCSE was not confident. The correspondent notes that the internal troops had not been deployed and did not have a precise position or objective. He asks if this was apparent from the minister's behavior.

Gromov replies: "It was probably some time on the evening of 20 August. It is immediately apparent when a man feels confidence and when he does not. We had that meeting with him on the morning of 20 August. When we told him that he had to leave this Committee, his bearing was confident. However, by the evening his behavior had changed completely."

The reporter asks how he explains this abrupt change.

Gromov says: "It had changed because Pugo could see for himself what the situation was. He had already toured Moscow and found out what was going on. He had already seen how many people were on the streets of Moscow, above all in the center—around the White House, especially. He could not have been unaware of that. They said—and telegrams were sent off claiming that the SCSE was being supported virtually everywhere in the Soviet Union. But they knew—and he knew too—that this was completely untrue. I believe he realized what all this was leading to. But afterwards—when we analyzed what had happened, nobody had so much as hinted to him throughout the 19th that the actions of this Committee were illegal."

Tikhomirov says that maybe he did not realize this. Gromov says: "No. Nobody told him. In other words, he was sure. Evidently the people with him were also sure that they would attain their goals. Once he was told that this was not so at all, that this was all illegal, he changed, although I think—in fact I am sure he realized this, just like the rest of the eight. That is the first thing. Second, when he witnessed the actions of Muscovites, of Russia, the parliament, and the president of Russia—well, I think any normal person would have drawn the correct conclusion. Any normal person would start thinking of ways of extricating himself from that situation. The fact that he evidently did not give this any thought is another matter."

Tikhomirov remarks that the CPSU is now leaving the stage. Gromov agrees. The correspondent then asks if the events had shaken his principles. He says: "How do you see yourself in this situation?"

Gromov answers: "Since it was only part of the CPSU leadership, not all of it, which prepared and took part in this insane—no other word applies—coup, this naturally colors my attitude toward this. Under no circumstances will I ever censure or speak ill of the people who belonged to that Party, as a whole. But the very fact that part of the CPSU leadership, of its supreme leadership,

prepared and took part in this black deed naturally leaves a corresponding imprint on the party. I consider that all the things that have happened to the party now, the fact that its activities have been suspended, these are quite just decisions. That is the first thing.

"Second, how do I see my place in the new situation? I wish to say yet again that my honor and conscience are clear. Never, nowhere, not under any circumstances have I ever bartered them, especially in difficult situations—nor do I intend to in the future. I think that it has already been decided in principle that I shall return to the Ministry of Defense. I have no job there at the moment—that is already a second question. This will be decided by the minister of defense and the other people who handle these questions. I will continue to do my duty as a soldier and a General. I have experience. I am serving the motherland and the people."

Tikhomirov remarks: "Obviously, you already realize that if the situation had turned out differently, if you had been defending the White House, if the SCSE had been victorious, there could have been no talk at all about jobs." Gromov replies: "This is not the first time I have been asked what would have happened if I had defended the White House. I consider myself to have been defending it. I was not there, at the White House. My main task was to prevent the decisions of Pugo from being implemented. After all, the internal troops are a tremendously powerful force. In this way, I did my utmost to ensure that the whole of Moscow, not just the White House, was defended. And not just Moscow, but also other regions. As you also know, the situation in other regions could also have led to intervention by the internal troops in those cities. To answer your question, in the manner in which you phrased it, then of course I understood that if the SCSE had come to power, the same sort of investigation would have been launched. There would also have been an investigation, as I see it. They would have been looking for one thing only—who supported the SCSE and who was against it. Naturally I would not have stayed in this place. Clearly I would already have been in a different place."

Tikhomirov remarks: "You find yourself in the predicament of the peasant who is robbed by the Reds and robbed by the Whites."

Gromov says: "There you have it. The investigation has begun. It is in progress. All the i's will be dotted. The investigation will apportion a place to each individual."

Far East Troop Commander on Army Problems

AU0909101391 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 9 Sep 91 p 178

[Interview with General Viktor Novoshilov, commander of the Far East Military District, by an unidentified DER SPIEGEL reporter; place and date not given: "Who Will Pay Our Pensions"]

[Text] General Viktor Novoshilov, 53, commands the Far East Military District with headquarters in Khabarovsk. During the attempted putsch in Moscow he ordered his 140,000 soldiers to stay in their barracks.

[DER SPIEGEL] General Novoshilov, you belong to a generation of military men who wanted to defend socialism and the Soviet Union. Now socialism is dead and the Soviet Union is dying. What does a man like you feel in view of these changes?

[Novoshilov] It is correct, socialism is dead. In our country there must not be any state property and collective responsibility anymore. In the end this always meant that no one cared for anything. However, I doubt that the Soviet Union is dying.

[DER SPIEGEL] But the Soviet Union is on the point of dissolving.

[Novoshilov] It is no longer a union, it will rather become some sort of federation. Russia must play a bigger role, this will be the way out; Russia will be the unifying factor also for the other republics.

[DER SPIEGEL] What do the other generals think? What does the end of the socialist dream mean for them?

[Novoshilov] We have long stopped dreaming and given up believing in the ideas of socialism and communism. We only did not dare to say so openly. Now many officers are concentrating on obvious problems. Who will pay our pensions in the future? Who will pay the veterans who served in the Baltic states or in Moldova? These republics will say that we did not serve in their armies. They will refuse to give us money. This will be a big problem for all military men.

[DER SPIEGEL] What made some of your colleagues support the attempted putsch?

[Novoshilov] The Armed Forces as a whole did not support the coup. There were certainly different opinions, but this is normal.

[DER SPIEGEL] What did the officers of your military district think?

[Novoshilov] My position was clear from the very beginning. I announced that the troops of this region would not act against demonstrators and normal citizens.

[DER SPIEGEL] But not all officers agreed with that; some commanders were willing to support the putsch.

[Novoshilov] These were only individual cases. When the commander of Komsomolsk on the Amur River wanted to form an emergency committee, I called him and said: "Do your job or you will be fired." He gave up.

[DER SPIEGEL] What role are the Armed Forces supposed to play in the future?

[Novoshilov] That of professional armed forces, as in any other modern country. We have to drastically reduce

the number of our soldiers—in my district by half. We must stop demanding from the soldiers that they do non-military tasks. Today they demand from us that we help the peasants with the harvest; we are told to build roads and houses.

[DER SPIEGEL] In the 1950's the border with China was considered as "border of friendship." What is it today?

[Novoshilov] We have treated each other as enemies for too long. It is not possible to solve this problem quickly.

[DER SPIEGEL] Can China again become the enemy? In Russia socialism is now being rejected, while the Chinese cling to it.

[Novoshilov] Our relations with China are complicated. The common border is the longest in the world: 7,520 km. Along this border there are strong concentrations of troops. There are now talks to withdraw these troops a bit from the border, but this is difficult because our troops are close to the Transsiberian railroads. There are towns and villages there. Behind them is the taiga, empty space without infrastructure. We cannot send the troops there.

[DER SPIEGEL] The world is increasingly concerned about the Soviet nuclear arms and control of them. It may be that republics such as the Ukraine and Kazakhstan grab them.

[Novoshilov] These concerns are exaggerated. Do not believe that the military commanders will sit around doing nothing when the republics talk about becoming independent. We will take the correct measures as regards nuclear weapons.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will you withdraw the nuclear weapons from those republics that have become independent?

[Novoshilov] It would be a sensible solution if a supreme command in Moscow, for instance, would remain responsible for those nuclear weapons that cannot be withdrawn. These include missiles in silos, space weapons, and bases for warships, which are equipped with nuclear weapons. Guarding these weapons could be taken over by the national defense ministries with the help of militia and police units.

[DER SPIEGEL] The putsch of 19 August failed, but some of the reasons that led to it continue to exist. Might such an attempted putsch happen again?

[Novoshilov] Certainly not. No one, not even some individual, can be interested in that. And no military commander can be so stupid as to participate in another coup. Of course, there will be conflicts that are related to the crumbling of the Soviet Union: ethnic conflicts between the republics, border conflicts. But there will never again be a putsch, never.

'Scores' 'Settled' in Army Journal Editor Ouster

PM0909140791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 91 p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel Zabrodin report: "The Main Military-Political Directorate Is Closed Down. But It Is Settling Scores"]

[Text] On 4 September 1991 the editorial offices of the USSR Defense Ministry journal ARMIYA that Major General N. Koshelev had been removed from his post.

Formerly the journal was called KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL [Communist of the Armed Forces] and came under the wing of the USSR Army and Navy Main Military-Political Directorate. The new chief, appointed two years ago, considerably altered the publication's direction, in particular publicly opposing the use of the Army to "resolve" interethnic and political conflicts in the country. He was "carpeted" several times. In spite of everything, Gen. Koshelev has managed to achieve an official change in the title and subject matter of the journal.

Now, military journalists believe, scores have been settled with our chief. He was to quick to "surrender" positions, it is said. In 1990-1991 we received thousands of letters and telegrams in support of the journal's new position, which provoked the Main Political Directorate's extreme displeasure.

On 4 September N. Koshelev was summoned by Main Military-Political Directorate Deputy Chief Gen. A. Maslov and informed that ARMIYA now had a new editor.

The officer journalists of ARMIYA are indignant at this autocratic and unjust action. An appeal to RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President B. Yeltsin, RSFSR Council of Ministers Chairman I. Silayev, and USSR Minister of Defense Ye. Shaposhnikov was unanimously adopted:

"We ask for the honor and dignity of our chief editor to be defended, and consider his removal to be unlawful."

From the Editors

We have learned that the ARMIYA editor is to be Col. V. Baranets, former expert consultant to former Main Military-Political Directorate Chief N. Shlyaga.

Maybe the putsch in the USSR is still going on?

Aspects of Army Depoliticization Examined

PM0909134791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7

[Article by military correspondent V. Litovkin: "The Armed Forces Main Military Political Directorate Is Standing Down"]

[Text] The military political organs in the USSR Armed Forces, in the troops of the USSR KGB, in the internal troops of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry, and in the railroad troops have been scrapped by USSR presidential decree. The Armed Forces Main Military Political Directorate, known colloquially as the GlavPUR, is being disbanded at the same time. Why?

The answer lies right in front of us and is as clear as can be: Its leaders and indeed its structures sullied themselves to some extent or other by, if not cooperation with the self-styled State Committee for the State of Emergency, then by support of it. Although, in my view, this was more a consequence than a cause.

The causes go much deeper. They lie in the fact that the military political organs reformed by decree of the country's president last September did not change in practice. The separation of party and state structures of military command took place more in a formal than any real fashion. Despite the host of laws and orders passed on this score, the people from Old Square, the Central Committee nomenklatura, and its bureacracy continued to run both organizations on a steady and daily basis. Just like one year, just like ten years ago, they were obeyed and consulted with, because no other style or methods of work were imagined or even conceivable.

The departyization and depoliticization of the Army became a vital necessity.

Here is a striking detail: Answering a question from our newspaper one year ago about the possibility of the departyization and depoliticization of the Army, a former GlavPUR leader told me—Our people will not allow it. Another took offense at the question mark in the headline of an article on the September reform "Is the GlavPUR Changing Its Label?" But it turned out that the newspaper was right.

As a matter of fact it was precisely those who did their utmost to fight against the ideas of departyization and depoliticization and against the initiators and proponents of such ideas and who used any pretext to drive them out of the Army—it was precisely those who themselves, as soon as they could, through their total incapacity for resolute and fundamental changes, spurred on and hastened this process, taking it to its logical conclusion.

Such a conclusion is not a belated insight, not a closing of the door after the horse has bolted; but is the statement of an obvious fact.

But the GlavPUR is not just the Central Committee nomenklatura, is not just made up of Old Square placemen. Its officers and the officers of other military political organs include many real true professionals who know the Army, its problems, and their own jobs well, who understand soldiers and know how to protect their interests. What will happen to them now? What will happen to the idea of servicemen's social protection? The moral-psychological and military training which are extremely necessary in any army?

Colonel General G. Stefanovskiy, member of the Defense Ministry Commission for the Elimination of Military Political Organs and Party Structures and the Creation of Organs of Combat Training and Military and Moral-Psychological Education in the USSR Armed Forces, speaks:

[Stefanovskiy] Our aim is—in deed rather than just in words—to combine the training and educational process, to fuse together the uncoordinated organs of combat training and organs of educational work, to relieve officer-educators of the nonintrinsic administrative and executive functions which the former military political organs suffered from, and to retain highly skilled cadres in the Army. Particularly at regimental, battalion, and company level. And those who do not find a new job will be discharged into the reserve either through the cuts in strength or because of their age.

Certification commissions and assemblies of officers will start tackling these questions. But our main task is to act in such a way that no one retains a sense of grievance against the Army. [Stafanovskiy ends]

The cuts in store are considerable. According to the data from the personnel organs, more than 3,000 political workers and 40 percent of generals have served their set term of service. They all have to go into the reserve by 1 December this year. In practice the posts of general are being cut by 70 percent. I was told that no more than five or six of the 32 generals currently serving in the GlavPUR will remain at their post, and in the new structures no more than 50-60 posts of general are planned.

What kind of structures are they? A Main Directorate for Combat Training and Military and Moral-Psychological Education is being set up in the Armed Forces. It will consist not just of methods specialists-cum-combat training organizers, but also professional psychologists, sociologists, political experts, specialists in interethnic relations, in relations with public organizations, in the social and legal protection of servicemen, and in work with young people, plus methods specialists in cultural educational work. Some 300-400 people in all.

It is also intended to create in the new structures departments for the safety of military service and the prevention of death and injuries among servicemen..

Directorates for combat training and military and moral-psychological education are being set up in branches and categories of troops and in districts and fleets; with departments of such in armies, flotillas, and corps; sections in divisions; educational work services (three or four men) in regiments and on classification-1 ships; a senior assistant commander in charge of edicational work in divisions and battalions; and an assistant commander in companies and batteries.

The entire military press is being transferred to the Defense Ministry Information Directorate.

The cadres for the new structures will be trained at retraining courses and at the Military Education Academy (the former Military Education Academy Named for Lenin) and higher military educational coilleges of branches of the Armed Forces. It is intended to scrap two or three higher military political colleges. In Riga and Tallin they are already being closed. And the Lvov college, where specialists in cultural educational work and military journalists are trained, will seemingly be transformed into a Military Culture Institute.

Will the new structures work differently from the former military political organs? Will they be really able to tackle the tasks confronting the Armed Forces rather than just tallking about them? Time will tell.

I think that the departyization and depoliticization of the Army and the Navy should be underpinned by a raft of Union laws which will enshrine once and for all the true role of the Army in our society, guaranteeing its nonparticipation in political and interethnic conflicts, and will comprehensively protect the interests of the professional defenders of the country.

Society will then be able to properly call people to account for their attitude toward service and the performance of military duty. Incompetent loafers and bureaucratic functionaries who substitute empty demagoguery for real work with and concern for people will be left with only one resort—retirement.

Commanders of Military District Detailed

91SV0062A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Sep 91 First edition p 1

[Unattributed article: "New Appointments"]

[Text] There is a process of renewal of the command staff underway these days in the Army and the Navy. The editorial board has been receiving reports of more and more new appointments. Responding to numerous requests, we will immediately inform you, respected readers, about the most significant of them and publish short biographic data of those who are nominated to new posts. Today we present new commanding officers appointed by ukase of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev: Lieutenant General V. Toporov of the Moscow Military District, Lieutenant General V. Mironov of the Baltic Military District, and Lieutenant General A. Sergeyev of the Volga-Urals Military District.

Lieutenant General Vladimir Mikhaylovich Toporov

He was born 7 February 1946 in the city of Baranovichi. In 1968 he graduated from the Odessa Artillery Service School.

He began his service with the forces in the post of a platoon commander of an antitank battery and then commanded a battery in an airborne assault regiment. In 1975 after graduating from the Military Academy imeni M.V. Frunze he was appointed deputy commander of a regiment. In 1977 he became commander of a regiment. In 1979 he was deputy commander of a division. In 1984 he graduated from the Military Academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. In 1984 he was made commander of a division. In 1987 he was appointed first deputy commander and then in 1988 commander of an army. In 1989 he became chief of staff-first deputy commander of the Far Eastern Military District.

Lieutenant General Valeriy Ivanovich Mironov

He was born 19 December 1943 in the city of Moscow. In 1965 he graduated from the Moscow Higher Combined Arms Service School imeni Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. He began his service with the forces in the post of platoon commander and then became commanding officer of a company. In 1973 after graduating from the Military Academy imeni M.V. Frunze he was appointed chief of staff-deputy commander of a regiment. In 1975 he became commander of a regiment, in 1977 deputy commander of a division, and in 1979 commander of a division. In 1979-1982 he took part in the effort to render international aid to the Republic of Afghanistan. In 1984 he graduated from the Military Academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. In 1984 he became first deputy commander of an army and in 1989 first deputy commander of the Leningrad Military District.

Lieutenant General Anatoliy Ipatovich Sergeyev

He was born to a working family on 6 November 1940 in the village of Ivanovka in Bolsherechenskiy Rayon of Omsk Oblast. In 1963 he graduated from the Far Eastern Tank Service School with honors.

He began his service with the forces in the post of commanding officer of a tank platoon. Then he became commander of a training company and deputy commander of a training tank battalion. In 1973 after graduating from the Military Academy of Armored Troops imeni Marshal of the Soviet Union R.Ya. Malinovskiy he was appointed deputy commander of a regiment. In 1974 he became a commander of a regiment and in 1978 commander of a division. In 1982 he graduated from the Military Academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces.

In 1982 he became chief of staff-first deputy commander of an army and in 1986 commander of an army. In 1988 he became chief of staff-first deputy commander of the Odessa Military District. In 1983-1986 he served as part of a limited contingent of Soviet forces in Afghanistan.

Decree on Armed Forces Leadership Changes

91UM0850A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

[USSR president's ukase on higher officer staff appointments and dismissals followed by biographical data]

[Text]

Ukase of the President of the USSR on Appointments to Posts and Dismissals From Posts of Officials of the Higher Officer Staff in the USSR Armed Forces

1. To appoint:

Colonel General Vladimir Magomedovich Semenov commander in chief of the Ground Forces-deputy minister of defense of the USSR;

Colonel General of Aviation Viktor Alekseyevich Prudnikov commander in chief of Air Defense Forces-deputy minister of defense of the USSR;

Colonel General of Aviation Petr Stepanovich Deynekin commander in chief of the Air Force-deputy minister of defense of the USSR.

2. To dismiss:

General of the Army Valentin Ivanovich Varennikov from the post of commander in chief of the Ground Forces-deputy minister of defense of the USSR;

General of the Army Ivan Moiseyevich Tretyak from the post of commander in chief of Air Defense Forces-deputy minister of defense of the USSR.

3. To appoint:

Lieutenant General Yevgeniy Nikolayevich Podkolzin commander of airborne troops, having dismissed from that post Colonel General Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Moscow, Kremlin, 31 August 1991.

Colonel General Vladimir Magomedovich Semenov

He was born on 8 June 1940 in the village of Xhurzuk in Karachayevskiy Rayon of Karachayevo-Cherkesskaya Autonomous Oblast in Stavropol Kray.

In 1962 he graduated from the Baku Higher Combined Arms Service School.

He began his service in the forces in the post of commander of a motorized rifle platoon. Then he was commander of a company. In 1970 after graduating from the Military Academy imeni M.V. Frunze he was appointed commander of a motorized rifle battalion and later chief of staff of a regiment. In 1973 he became commander of a regiment and then in 1975 chief of staff-deputy commander of a division. In 1979 he graduated with honors from the Military Academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. In 1979 he became commander of a division, in 1982 commander of an army corps, in 1984 commander of an army, and in 1986 first deputy commander of the Transbaykal Military District.

In 1988 he was appointed commander of the Transbaykal Military District.

Colonel General of Aviation Viktor Alekseyevich Prudnikov

He was born 4 February 1939 in Rostov-na-Donu. In 1959 he graduated from the Armavir Air Forces Service School.

He began his service in the forces in the post of flight instructor of an aviation training regiment. In 1967 after graduating from the Air Force Academy imeni Yu.A. Gagarin he was appointed deputy commander of an aviation squadron.

In 1968 he became commander of an aviation squadron.

In 1970 he became deputy commander of an aviation fighter regiment for flight training.

A year later he was appointed commander of an aviation fighter regiment.

In 1973 he became deputy commander and in 1975 commander of an air defense division.

In 1978 he became first deputy commander of an air defense independent army.

In 1981 after graduating from the Military Academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces he was appointed first deputy commander and in 1983 commander of an air defense independent army.

From 1989 to the present he has commanded the troops of the Moscow Air Defense District.

Colonel General of Aviation Petr Stepanovich Deynekin

He was born 14 December 1937 in the city of Morozovsk in Rostov Oblast.

In 1957 he graduated from the Balashov Air Forces Service School.

He began his service in the forces as a pilot and a commander of a long-range aviation aircraft. In 1969 after graduating from the Air Force Academy imeni Yu.A. Gagarin he commanded an aviation regiment and a division. In 1982 after graduation with a gold medal from the Military Academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces he was appointed deputy commander of an air army. In 1988 he was appointed commander of long-range aviation and in 1990 first deputy commander in chief of the Air Force.

While he worked as a pilot he mastered several types of combat aircraft, including the TU-160 strategic aircraft, and he has logged 4,500 hours of flight time. He has been awarded the title of "Honored Military Pilot of the USSR."

Lieutenant General Yevgeniy Nikolayevich Podkolzin

He was born 18 April 1936 in the village of Lepsinsk in Andreyevskiy Rayon of Taldy-Kurgan Oblast.

In 1958 he graduated from airborne service school. He began his service in the forces in the post of platoon commander. Then he was commander of an independent reconnaissance company of a guards airborne division and commander of a paratroop battalion. In 1973 after graduating from the Military Academy imeni M.V. Frunze he was appointed commander of a guards paratroop regiment. In 1974 he became deputy commander and in 1976 commander of a guards airborne division.

In 1982 he graduated from the Military Academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. In 1982 he became the first deputy chief of staff of airborne troops, and in 1986 chief of staff-first deputy commander of airborne troops.

Baltic Affairs

Meri, Jurkans Comment on Independence Process

OW1209095391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1315 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonia's Foreign Minister Lennart Meri has told BNS [BALTFAX NEWS SERVICE] that after gaining independence his republic will take an active part in the Helsinki process. He said he was certain that his republic was ready for independence, because it had the experience of independent development before World War II.

Lennart Meri said talks with the Soviet Union on all questions, in the first place, the withdrawal of Soviet troops would be his republic's immediate foreign policy task.

On the contrary, Latvia's Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans believes that independence has taken his republic by surprise. Latvia has proved unprepared to go independent due to the lack of infrastructures to maintain international relations and of resources to keep embassies abroad. Another reason for that is the low level of the Latvian economy, which has to be strengthened first by encouraging private property and enterprise.

About foreign policy guidelines Janis Jurkans said that integration processes in Europe were particularly important and that in its foreign policy his republic would give no preference to either East or West.

Landsbergis on Baltics Joining Helsinki Process

LD1209045791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network Lithuanian 0900 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Assessing the decision of the CSCE in Moscow concerning the Baltic States joining the Helsinki process as full members and the concensus reached on this, Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis said: This has been the long awaited result of our efforts that we had planned to achieve by February 1992—by Helsinki-2. This took place earlier and this is good news because this indicates that the peace process in Europe is developing in a positive way without artificial obstacles.

PRC's Tien: No Veto on Baltics UN Membership

OW1109114591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1015 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei met the chairman of the Estonian parliament Arnold Ruutel in Tallinn. He voiced the readiness of his country to establish diplomatic relations with Estonia.

According to BF's [BALTFAX] reporter, the Chinese side raised the issue of Taiwan stressing that it is a province of China that is not united with the rest of the country for historical reasons. The Chinese official hoped that Estonia would not establish diplomatic relations with Taiwan. This was expressed in a joint communique following the meeting.

The Chinese diplomat also announced that Beijing supports Baltic membership in the UN. Therefore it ill not use its veto right when the applications of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to the international community will be discussed.

Estonia

Savisaar, EC Official View Integration Process

LD1209040691 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] [Announcer] A delegation of the EC Committee for Assistance to Eastern Europe, headed by Frans Andriessen, the committee's vice president, is visiting Estonia. This morning the delegation was received by Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Council. Meeting the members of the delegation in Tallinn today were also Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis; Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius, and Estonian Government Chairman Edgar Savisaar. The delegation members also had several other meetings.

In the afternoon Edgar Savisaar and Frans Andriessen held a news conference in Tallinn. The latter congratulated the people of Estonia on the occasion of the singing revolution coming to an end, and spoke about plans for further work.

[Andriessen in English] We in the EC want to demonstrate our solidarity: solidarity with the courageous people of the Baltic republics now entering the stage of real cooperation with other countries.

[Announcer] Edgar Savisaar, too, spoke about the results of today's meetings and discussions.

[Savisaar] We arrived bilaterally at an understanding that it is necessary to conclude a treaty—of economic and trading character—and that would serve as the first step in our future integration with the EC. There is the issue of representations and the issue of a program for technical aid. We provided information on how far we have advanced in changing over to market economy; we discussed specific details in changing over to our own currency; and of course, of a particular interest to our visitors were those processes that are connected with our Baltic domestic economic integration, with the future prospects for the Baltic market, and so on. Their group of experts will stay in Estonia for another few days and work on those issues will continue.

[Announcer] Journalists took advantage of the news conference to ask what the three Baltic prime ministers had talked about in the morning. Here is Edgar Savisaar:

[Savisaar] We presume that a common market—to which a foundation has been laid already—as well as a customs union and a monetary union will emerge between the Baltic states. In respect of all those, integration processes are in progress, and that in particular in respect of creating a common market. And I believe that we will be able to tell you of new developments with regard to the customs union yet this month. And today we received good advice from EC specialists in regard to carrying these processes further.

Genscher Meets Ruutel, Urges OECD Aid

LD1109212891 Berlin ADN in German 1946 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Tallinn, (ADN)—Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has said that the federal government will use its influence to get the aid by the 24 OECD states to eastern and southern Europe extended to the Baltic states. At a reception given for him by Estonian President Arnold Ruutel in Tallinn this evening, Genscher also appealed to the West to meet its responsibility for the whole continent. He said that Bonn is in favor of seeing the targeted association negotiations with the EC as the first step toward full membership for the Baltic states.

At a news conference earlier, Genscher was very restrained in comments on possible German credits for Estonia. The urgent priority, he said, is to define concrete projects for possible cooperation. He strongly rejected demands for German reparations to the Baltic states and said that one must look to the future. The Estonian president thanked the Federal Republic for its position when Estonia was fighting for independence and for its quick establishment of diplomatic relations. He also pointed out that conservative forces are still active in Estonia and the Soviet Union, but there can be no turning back on the path that has been embarked upon.

Parliament Decides To Create Defense Forces

PM1109105991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 2

[TASS report under general heading: "Evening Teletype"]

[Text] The Estonian parliament has decided to create defense forces. The government has been asked to form a Defense Ministry and to submit by 1 October a draft law on universal defense service.

Oovel Assumes Control of Commissariat Archives

LD1209060991 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Today the commission led by Andrus Oovel, director general of the state defense and border guard department of the Republic of Estonia, took the archives and property of military commissariats under its control. This has been reported by ETA. Passport control checkpoints at Tallinn harbor and airport will start work from 15 September. A day later a commission of the USSR general staff will arrive in Tallinn to hand over military commissariats officially. On Thursday, the Baltic border guard district commission will meet in Tallinn to coordinate all border security details according to the Savisaar-Bakatin agreement.

Tax Incentives Offered to Western Capital

OW1109142391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0718 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday, the parliament of the newly independent Baltic republic of Estonia enacted a law which grants tax concessions to enterprises which are partly foreign owned and are situated on its territory.

BALTFAX reports that Estonia has repealed Soviet laws on the taxation of foreign-owned enterprises and joint ventures which had hitherto been in effect. At the same time, it provided sizeable inducements to Western capital.

Under the new law, if a foreign partner owns 30 percent or more of an enterprise's fixed capital, the enterprise will enjoy a two- year exemption from profits tax, beginning from the moment it receives its first gross profits. During the following two years an enterprise will pay 50 percent of the regular profit tax rate.

If a foreign partner owns 50 percent or more of an enterprise's fixed capital, and if his share is no less than $1 million, the enterprise enjoys a three-year profits tax exemption. During the subsequent two years, it will only have to pay 50 percent of the regular profit tax rate.

The Estonian government will draw up a list of priority economic sectors, where a three-year tax holiday will also be offered.

The Estonian parliament authorized the republican government to enact additional incentives for specific enterprises.

National Bank Exchange Rates Reported

OW1109104491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1900 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Exchange rates at the Bank of Estonia 11.09.91:

	Purchase price (rubles)	Selling price (rubles)	Against last week (in%)
Dollar Australia	23.59	25.24	0.13
Schilling Austria	2.490	2.664	1.80

	Purchase price (rubles)	Selling price (rubles)	Against last week (in%)
Franc Belgium	0.84499	0.9094	1.63
Guilder Netherlands	15.53	16.62	1.64
Lira Italy	0.02343	0.02507	1.65
Yen	0.2211	0.2366	0.77
Dollar Canada	26.33	28.17	-0.04
Krone Norway	4.478	4.791	1.70
France France	5.168	5.530	1.89
Krona Sweden	4.818	5.203	1.65
German Mark	17.49	18.89	1.69
Markka Finland	7.186	7.761	1.50
Pound Sterling	51.50	55.11	1.96
Franc Switzerland	19.93	21.33	1.37
Krone Denmark	4.529	4.846	1.48
U.S. Dollar	29.96	32.06	-0.33
ECU	35.91	38.42	1.64

Hard Currency Auction Reported

OW1109104391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1900 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Here are the average prices of the hard currency auction held by the Bank of Estonia September 10:

Hard currency	Sold	Average price
U.S. Dollar	1.416.035 [as received]	50.68
Krona Sweden	157.975	7.94
Markka Finland	345.797	11.62
German Mark	110.552	28.57

41 buyers and 129 sellers took part in the auction. 19 buyers and 90 sellers made deals. All in all, hard currency worth 80.198.563 ruble was sold.

Experts point out a decline in demand at the Bank of Estonia's hard currency auction since there are now much less buyers coming from the USSR who once raised the exchange rate up to 75 rubles.

Latvia

Godmanis on Talks With Shaposhnikov

LD1109220591 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1600 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Today, at the Supreme Council, there was a very important discussion among the People's Front of Latvia faction. The deputies agreed that the Supreme Council of this convocation is, after all, competent to tackle the problems of the citizenship of the Republic of Latvia. These questions will be specified at the next sitting of the faction.

A news conference was held at the Supreme Council, given by Chairman of the Council of Ministers Ivars Godmanis and Talavs Jundzis. A very extensive circle of journalists, among them journalists from foreign countries, attended.

I will play back what Ivars Godmanis said at the news conference about the meeting held yesterday at the USSR Ministry of Defence.

[Begin Godmanis recording] The basic question discussed was the reform of the Army, the reform of the armed forces, which was outlined by Minister Shaposhnikov. Likewise, practically all the representatives of all the republics spoke. [passage omitted]

I was entrusted to speak for the Baltic states, and I briefly emphasized the following aspects:

In connection with the restoration of our state, an independent state de facto, with which I understand recognition on the part of Russia, which in fact, too, is a component part of international recognition, and also the resolution of the State Council on the recognition as an independent state, I emphasized the following:

The USSR armed forces or the USSR Army in Latvia is an absolutely alien army.

We unequivocally take a stand, here speaking also in the name of the Lithuanians and Estonians, for a complete withdrawal of the armed forces from the Baltics.

I emphasized that, on my part, our structure's government, also the parliament, will do everything so this period of withdrawal would be as short as ever possible.

I emphasized that I visualize two stages in this process. I regard the first stage as an absolute, complete separation of civilian and military life in the Baltics. This means a reduction of all military activities by the armed forces units. By this I understand, the liquidation without delay of such institutions as military commissariats, and a complete taking over into the hands of the republic of the civil defense system. By this I understand freeing of the capital city, of the large towns from the Army. By this I understand a discontinuation of the operations of military schools and all other military training establishments in the Baltics and in Latvia without delay.

A special question which was basically advanced by the delegation of Lithuania with the Vice Premier Vaisvila—I think that Mr. Jundzis will describe this more specifically—(?the minister) also had a question on the recall without delay, of those who serve in the Soviet Army, their recall, those who were called up from the Baltic states, their recall from the Soviet Armed forces. These were the most important points I made at this meeting. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Talavs Jundzis told about the talk which took place specifically with the minister of defense, Marshal Shaposhnikov. Shaposhnikov was not prepared for this specific talk and for tackling of our specific demands. However, as a result of the talk he nevertheless promised several things, at least to promote them. In the first place he promised to do everything to form interstate commissions for tackling these questions of the armed forces. He said that by 1 January, Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians would be demobilized from the Soviet Army, and not only soldiers, but also officers; that within the next few days the Army will hand over the material-technical basis of the civil defense to the republics, the buildings and archives of the military commissariats, and will begin to tackle also the matters of handing over the communications system. Furthermore, by 1 January the Army would hand over to the Republic of Latvia those occupied territories where soldiers' buildings and bases are stationed; will discontinue the activity of the militarized political schools stationed in the territories of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. Furthermore, Marshal Shaposhnikov asserted that the question of an amnesty to those who have deserted from the Soviet Army had already been solved. [passage omitted]

Punishment for Blatic Fleet Commander Demanded

OW1109120291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1015 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The head of the Latvian parliament Gorbunovs and Prime-Minister Godmanis have sent a letter to the USSR Defence Minister Shaposhnikov calling to hold the commander of the Baltic fleet Admiral Ivanov responsible. They said that during the coup the commander followed the orders of the emergency oommittee and introduced the state of emergency in in Liepaja.

Law on State Service Effective 1 Oct

OW1109110391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1900 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On September 10 the Latvian Supreme Council passed a law on compulsory state service for all Latvian men aged 18 to 50. The law envisages the active military and labor services with the reserves. Callups will be held twice a year: one in the spring and one in the autumn. The military service will take 18 months, the labor service—24 months (for men with high education—6 months). The law is to come into effect on October 1, 1991.

Andris Ligotnis, a member of the commission on internal affairs and defense of the Latvian Supreme Council, told BF [BALTFAX] that some 3,000-4,000 men will be needed in the near future for the military service as border and prison guards. It is also expected that approximately 4,000 men will be called up soon for the labor service.

Military Commissariat Instructions Ruled Illegal

LD1209034691 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1730 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Military Commissariat has sent a telegram to the republic's military commissariats, all factories, and organizations and establishments at which there is military registration that by 11 September of this year military registration form no. 4 be destroyed.

In this connection, by resolution of the Latvian Supreme Council, the activity of the military commissariats of the USSR Ministry of Defense on the territory of the Republic of Latvia has been discontinued and the issuing of such instructions is unlawful and is not to be adhered to.

We received this information from the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia.

Bank President on Currency Introduction

OW1109111691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1900 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Eikars Repse, President of the Bank of Latvia, told a press conference in Riga that the Latvian national currency—Lats—would be introduced no earlier than mid-1992. He also noted that the Bank of Latvia has no plans to hold a monopoly on banking operations and, on the contrary, would back the creation of nine commercial banks. With this purpose, the Latvian parliament has charged the government with finding premises for new banks in Riga.

Mr. Repse stressed that the Bank of Latvia intends to closely cooperate with Soviet banks in the future and especially now that the ruble is still in force in Latvia.

Lithuania

Troop Withdrawal Talks With Moscow Discussed

LD1109221991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Algimantas Vaitkaitis, deputy general director of the country's defense department, has stated in an interview with the daily LIETUVOS AIDAS that it is understandable that the whole Soviet army could not leave at the same time. In the opinion of Algimantas Vaitkaitis, this process will take place in several stages. At present there are about 80,000 Soviet soldiers in Lithuania. At the outset we must define the status of this army and the stages of its withdrawal, Vaitkaitis stressed. In his opinion, the first to leave Lithuania should be the

strategic, operational, and airborne units, and also the army of the Soviet Union's Ministry of Internal Affairs and of the KGB, and later the motorized infantry, tanks, and air force. They should be followed by technical troops and rear services.

Meanwhile, during the Saturday meetings of Lithuanian Vice Premier Zigmas Vaisvila with the Soviet Union's defense and interior ministers in Moscow, there was much discussion about the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Lithuania. It was agreed with Minister of the Interior Barannikov that the withdrawal of the interior troops could start in the very near future, and the operational brigade stationed in Snieckus could be withdrawn immediately. The minister promised that when an instruction from the Soviet Union's leadership is received, the youths serving in the interior troops will be released at once. There are about 1,000 such youths from Lithuania.

During the meeting with Defense Minister Shaposhnikov, a discussion took place about the soldiers, officers and ensigns. The minister noted that obstacles will not be created for officers and ensigns serving in the Soviet Army to return to their homeland. The minister also promised that the airborne units will be withdrawn in the nearest future. The issue of dissolving the so-called northern military townlet, the largest in Vilnius, will be considered immediately.

It was decided that it was essential to form a bilateral commission to examine the ecological state of the Siauliai military airfield and discuss its move.

Both ministers promised to render assistance to the Lithuanian general procuracy in investigating the January and August events and the Medininkai tragedy and also to help solve the problem of the black berets.

In an interview with Lithuanian television, Vice Premier Zigmas Vaisvila said that 39 black berets have left Lithuania and five of them are in the military townlet in Vilnius. Meanwhile, according to the vice premier, there is anxiety about the fate of a group of about 90 persons. It may be that they, being armed, are roaming somewhere in Lithuania. Zigmas Vaisvila said that a group of officials from the Soviet Union's Ministry of Internal Affairs will soon arrive in Lithuania to help solve the problems discussed in Moscow.

Vagnorius, Landsbergis Views on Currency Differ

OW1109105691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1900 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the Lithuanian parliament's session which opened Tuesday Prime Minister of Lithuania Gediminas Vagnorius said that the national currency is likely to be introduced beginning from 1992. He pointed out that it would be pointless to break off relations with the Union republics.

In fact, the Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis has an opposite view. He has repeatedly announced that Lithuania does not intend to maintain any relations with the former Soviet Union.

Neutral Policy on Foreign Affairs Retained

OW1209123991 Tokyo KYODO in English 1212 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Vilnius, Lithuania, Sept. 12 KYODO—Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis said Thursday that his country will regain the neutral stance on foreign policy which the Baltic state maintained as an independent country before World War II.

In an interview with KYODO NEWS SERVICE, Landsbergis said Soviet troops in Lithuania should withdraw unconditionally and as soon as possible but that Lithuania will not be joining any international military alliance.

He said while there is no accord with Moscow on the withdrawal, there is no need for one as the stationing of Soviet troops was not based on any agreement.

More than 100,000 Soviet troops are estimated to be stationed in the Baltic republics, mostly in Lithuania.

While Vilnius and Moscow have agreed that all of the Interior Ministry's black beret forces withdraw, some still remain, the president said.

The two countries have also agreed that Lithuanian soldiers serving within Soviet troops be discharged from military service but a formal order has yet to be issued, he said.

Soviet troops began to withdraw from Vilnius after Moscow granted independence to the Baltic republics last Friday but Landsbergis said he doubts it is the beginning of a total withdrawal as previous promises have not been carried out.

Lithuania will work out a common defence policy with the Baltic republics of Estonia and Latvia, Langsbergies said.

The best path for Lithuania is to establish a security zone between the Western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc countries and maintain an international arrangement to guarantee its neutral position, he said.

Concerning Soviet relations he said it is first necessary to determine what shape the Soviet Union takes.

Lithuania hopes to maintain friendly ties with the Soviet Union but will not participate in any economic union, he said.

In early September, the state's Supreme Soviet legislature called for the creation of an economic union which would include the independent Baltic republics.

Landsbergis said the peace treaty between the Soviet Union and an independent Lithuania concluded in 1922 could be regarded as still in effect and it may be possible to map out a new arrangement with the Soviet Union based on that treaty.

Prosecutor Explains Coup Inquiry Procedures

PM1109160991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Interview with Lithuanian Republic General Prosecutor A. Paulauskas by Yu. Stroganov under the rubric: "What Happens To Our Party Now?"—place and date not given; first three paragraphs are introduction: "Talking Aloud About Rumors—Who Is Threatened With Arrest?"]

[Text] My Moscow colleagues have often dealt with telephone questions in recent days along the lines:

"Is it true that wholesale arrests of Communists are taking place in Lithuania? It is said that a witch-hunt has begun in the republic?"

I phoned my Lithuanian acquaintances who I knew for certain were members of the Lithuanian Communist Party, but they all turned out to be either at home or only temporarily absent; no one—so far, at least—had been jailed. Some expressed alarm over their future fate: The Communist Party has been outlawed in Lithuania. To discover the real situation and find out what awaits them, I asked A. Paulauskas, general prosecutor of the Lithuanian Republic, for an interview.

[Stroganov] Esteemed General Prosecutor, Lithuania surprised everyone with its calm, both during the Moscow putsch and afterward, when the avalanche of recognitions of the republic's independence descended. Outwardly life is proceeding in routine fashion, as if the social cataclysm in the USSR did not concern it. Nevertheless, rumors are circulating about arrests taking place in Lithuania after the putsch's failure and about thousands of arrest warrants being prepared. Is this true?

"The thousands of handcuffs were prepared by the junta, and not by us," A. Paulauskas objected. "I do not agree with you either that the coup in Moscow did not affect the republic. The calm was only outward. In actual fact all the destructive forces stirred. An investigation is being held into all incidents of active participation in supporting the putsch and actions aimed at overthrowing the lawful authorities. These incidents will receive appropriate assessments. But at the moment there are indeed arrest warrants. We have announced the names: M. Burokievicius, first secretary of the Central Committee; A. Naudziunas, secretary; and I. Jermalivicius, head of the Central Committee Ideological Department. We believe that they supported this putsch, and that the party had been working to overthrow the lawful authorities since January.

[Stroganov] Have the people you have just named been arrested already?

[Paulauskas] No.

[Stroganov] Should former Communists be worried about their future? Are they guaranteed the rights of citizens of the Lithuanian Republic?

[Paulauskas] Communists—those who committed no criminal actions and only belonged to the party—have nothing to worry about. Their rights are guaranteed. But those who supported the putsch by specific actions must be held accountable.

[Stroganov] In other words—let me be more precise—membership of the Communist Party will not in itself be viewed as a crime in the republic?

[Paulauskas] In general, demands of this kind are being heard from certain organizations. In particular there are calls for Communists to be thrown out of work. But I do not think we will go as far as that. [interview ends]

When this article was ready to go to press, another encouraging document appeared—the "Joint Announcement by the Public Prosecutors of the Baltic Countries." Encouraging, because radical forces in Lithuania have recently begun demanding a ban also on the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party and the closure of its newspaper and also of certain other publications, notably the independent newspaper RESPUBLICA. In their joint announcement the public prosecutors say, inter alia: "We also understand those who, after all we have been through, under the influence of emotions are asking for those who did not stand on the barricades of independence to be immediately brought to trial and severely dealt with. However, democratic forces should not lower themselves to using the same methods by which our peoples were oppressed over the last 50 years. Illegal repression, persecution on the basis of political convictions and false reports, and restrictions on rights to protection must not be allowed, and it is likewise impermissible to use the investigation as a means of settling political or personal scores."

Housing Construction Law

WA1109133191

For this law published in the 18 June 1991 EKHO LITVY, see the FBIS Report Soviet Union: Republic Affaris, FBIS-USR-91-018, dated 30 July 1991, p. 21.

Apartment Privatization Law

WA1109133691

For this law published in the 19 June 1991 EKHO LITVY, see the FBIS Report Soviet Union: Republic Affaris. FBIS-USR-91-018, dated 30 July 1991, p. 21-23.

Yeltsin Decree Invalidating Coup Decrees

PM1209105091 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Sep 91 p 4

["Decree of the President of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] on Deeming Decrees, Certain Points in Individual Decrees, and a Directive of the RSFSR President Adopted During the Period of the Coup d'Etat in the USSR 19-21 August To Be No Longer Valid," dated 9 September, plus a list of said decrees and points]

[Text] In connection with the termination of the coup d'etat in the USSR thanks to the staunchness of the Russians and their loyalty to their duty and to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Constitution, I decree:

That decrees, certain points in individual decrees, and a directive [rasporyazheniye] of the RSFSR president, stipulated in the attached list, are deemed to be no longer valid.

RSFSR President

B. Yeltsin. Moscow, Kremlin, 9 September 1991, No. 102.

List of Decrees, Certain Points in Individual Decrees, and a Directive of the RSFSR President That Are No Longer Valid—Approved by RSFSR Presidential

Decree No. 102 of 9 September 1991

1. RSFSR Presidential Decree No. 60 of 19 August 1991 "On the Chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Defense Questions."

2. Point 1 and Section 1 of Point 2 of RSFSR Presidential Decree No. 61 of 19 August 1991.

3. RSFSR Presidential Decree No. 62 of 19 August 1991.

4. Points 1, 2, 5, 6, and 8 of RSFSR Presidential Decree No. 64 of 20 August 1991 "On Control of the USSR Armed Forces on RSFSR Territory in the Conditions of the Emergency Situation."

5. RSFSR Presidential Decree No. 67 of 20 August 1991 "On the Appointment of the RSFSR Defense Minister."

6. RSFSR Presidential Decree No. 68 of 20 August 1991 "On the Appointment of the Main Military Chief of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast."

7. Point 4 of RSFSR Presidential Decree No. 69 of 21 August 1991 "On the Mass Media in the RSFSR."

8. RSFSR Presidential Directive No. 22-rp of 20 August 1991 "On Security and Admission Procedures for the RSFSR House of the Soviets."

Yeltsin Order Transfers USSR Ministries Duties

OW1109120891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian President Boris Yeltsin has issued orders suspending the activities of the USSR ministries of the coal, oil and gas industries, nuclear power engineering as well as the Gazprom and Neftegazstroi companies in Russian territory.

Their subsidiaries together with all their property are placed under the jurisdiction of the Russian Fuel and Power Ministry. All staff workers are to continue performing their duties in line with the decisions of the Russian Cabinet and Ministry, the orders say.

The document instructs the Russian ministry to guarantee the energy supplies of the other republics in line with inter-republican agreements.

Yeltsin May Sign Decree To Open Vladivostok

OW1109144891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0718 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Within the next ten days RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin may sign a decree that would "open" the city of Vladivostok to foreigners as of November 1, 1991. The announcement was made by Vladimir Kuznetsov, the chief executive of the Primorsky Territory. Vladivostok is the largest Soviet center in the Far East and is the site of a major naval base.

Meanwhile, the USA, Japan, South Korea, China, Hungary and Czechoslovakia have already declared their interest in opening trade offices in the city.

It is believed that as soon as Vladivostok is opened to foreigners, Japan will be the first to have its application for a trade office approved, a municipal official told IF [INTERFAX].

Russian Supreme Soviet To Convene 19 Sep

LD1009142791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] The fourth session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet will commence in Moscow on 19 September. From 19-27 September, the Supreme Soviet's Presidium plans to submit 11 motions for joint debate by the chambers, including those on the political, economic, and social situation in Russia, and on ensuring that food supplies reach the people in the Republic.

Reorganization Committee Meets

OW1209053491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The parliamentary Commission set up last July by the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to draft a plan for reorganizing Russia's supreme legislature, held its first unofficial meeting on Tuesday. After its chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov returns from Japan, the commission will consider several concepts of Supreme Soviet reorganization.

Parliamentarian Viktor Sheinis, a member of the commission, told IF's [INTERFAX] reporter that "the ordinary rotation of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the basis of the RSFSR Constitution and the rules adopted by the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet will not be able to adequately reflect the recent changes in the political situation. Hence the need to review the principles of forming the republican Supreme Soviet."

According to Mr. Sheinis, the practice of electing parliament by People's Deputies should be scrapped. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet should be formed proceeding from the realization that one of its two houses—the Council of the Republic—should be twice as large as the other house, the Council of Nationalities. This, Mr. Sheinis believes, would prevent the Council of Nationalities from blocking resolutions adopted by the Council of the Republic, as it did more than once in the past. Mr. Sheinis said the number of members of the Council of Nationalities should increase from 125 to 150 or even 168 (to match the number of deputies from the national-territorial constituencies). The Council of the Republic should involve 300 deputies (150 from the various regions and 150 from political factions and groups). Once we have such a parliament, democratically formed on the basis of proportionate representation, we may expect it to work with due efficiency, V. Sheinis concluded.

Lobov Foresees 'Faster' Reforms, Privatization

PM1109085591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Sep 91 p2

[Interview with Oleg Lobov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, by Vitaliy Kovalenko under the rubric "Conversations on Topical Subjects": "'Everyone Wants to See Russia Rich'"—place and date not given]

[Text] We have suddenly realized that we cannot go on living as we were before the coup. Members of the younger generation have simply decided to stay at the barricades outside the White House: They have put up tents and awnings and sleep there at night. For the older generation it is more difficult. People are apparently still going to work and carrying on as before, but there is a constant feeling that our present way of life is on very shaky ground and only temporary. I asked Oleg Lobov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, how this problem is viewed by the Russian Government.

[Kovalenko] Oleg Ivanovich, the coup meant "promotion" for you: For almost three days you were head of an underground Russian government. I would like to start by asking why this government was set up and why in Sverdlovsk?

[Lobov] The coup failed mainly because the resistance movement had a strong center in the White House. I fear events would have developed very differently if it had not been for that. But, as is well known, anything can happen in battle. In order not to lose control, it was decided to organize a government "in reserve."

The group—which included members of the Russian Government and the Supreme Soviet—flew out of Moscow on the morning of the 20th. The main task was to ensure communications. We telephoned all Soviet and executive committee chairmen, checked out radio and television channels, and tuned in to the fire service system, which allows you to broadcast over a 2,000 km radius. We did not have time to do anything else, although we helped several regions with bread and fuel on the way and sent a government commission to an accident in Syktyvkar.

Also on the 20th, we reached an agreement with the commander of the army stationed in the city that not a single battalion or combat vehicle would leave its regular post without our knowledge. But to answer your question: Why Sverdlovsk? We and the commander knew that the city's politicized working class would put up no less resistance to the coup than in Moscow—and possibly even more. Even if Makashov had succeeded in introducing a state of emergency, the plants would have immediately blocked off all the exits from the military camps.

[Kovalenko] But why are people taking such an active stand? I well remember October 1964 and the calm—almost indifference—with which people received the news that Khrushchev had been replaced by Brezhnev. I am sure that those involved in the coup were counting on it being treated as just another palace revolution, of which there have been a great many in our history. But they miscalculated. So what has changed?

[Lobov] People, of course. They will not tolerate the slightest possibility of returning to the past. Not just to 1937 and collectivization but to a totalitarian regime in general. Because they have realized that the most it can do is raise their standard of living to that of 1985. There will be no breakthrough or real development comparable to Finland or Sweden, for example.

The second reason is that we now have a real, authoritative leadership, which is something Russia has never had before. It offers real hope of revival.

[Kovalenko] Indeed, recent, post-coup surveys show that Yeltsin is supported by 90 percent of respondents. In my opinion, this is unprecedented: Not only in our country but in other countries as well. I feel, however, that this kind of support must cause concern as well as joy. Because there is nothing more dangerous for a politician—and for the entire Russian leadership in this case—than to arouse great expectations in people and then fail to live up to them.

[Lobov] But the reforms will move three, five times faster now than before the coup. The first thing we have done is to take responsibility for material and technical supply....

[Kovalenko] Forgive me for interrupting you, Oleg Ivanovich, but, I must admit, I had been expecting to hear something quite different. That the Russian Government has decided to adopt the new Yavlinskiy program or something similar, for example....

[Lobov] I really cannot agree with you. It is wrong to set one against the other. Moreover, I think there is a dangerous and, unfortunately, widespread misconception that the economy can be rapidly reformed by programs and good laws alone.

Take private farms, for example. Some quite good laws have been issued. They have apparently produced results: There are now 27,000 private farms. But where is the main result, which we should all be able to appreciate in the stores and for the sake of which all this was started in the first place? It will appear when private farmers are able to offer collective farms real competition. But, for that to happen, there must be at least 1 million of them. It will take about 15 years at the present rate. That is the arithmetic.

But it can be changed—if we organize purposeful support for private farms. We need to organize the sale, storage, and processing of their output and supply them with equipment, construction materials, feed, fertilizers, and selected seeds. Then the rate at which they become established and their efficiency will increase three-five times. But who can do all this? Only the state. In Britain, which does not have our problems and where 2.2 percent of the active population supplies the country with almost 100 percent of its food, the Ministry of Agriculture employs 10,000 people. For 550,000 farmers. On the other hand, the efficiency of each of them is beyond our wildest dreams.

But surely private farms are not alone in needing state support? What about the power industry, consumer goods, defense conversion, foreign investment...? It is not enough to allow enterprise and market relations. We also have to organize them, create favorable conditions, and simply teach people what to do. Otherwise, the formation of a new system will drag on for decades. That is what we have come up against: The state has proved to be unprepared for this kind of work.

As far as supply bodies are concerned.... I would like to relate a specific episode, however.

We had begun to prise them away even before the coup. We had managed to persuade the Cabinet of Ministers—albeit with great difficulty. The transfer document had been signed by Velichko, Anisimov, and Silayev: Pavlov was the only person left to sign. On Saturday 17 August, I urgently tried to persuade him that this step was necessary and inevitable. But he refused. He said he would sign it on Monday. Well, we all know what happened on Monday 19 August. A totally different document was published on 22 August, which brought everything full circle. We have since learnt that it had been prepared as early as 15 August.

[Kovalenko] But what was the point of all this cunning and opposition?

[Lobov] It was one of the last bastions of the Cabinet of Ministers. After all, the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply has not existed as such for two years now. With the exception of Russia, all the republics have chopped off its tentacles reaching into their territory and are now building their relations with the center on the basis of the principle: You will, of course, give us whatever we need, but we will have to see what we give you. They have been able to do this because the Ukrainian State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, for example, has 900 members of staff, the Uzbek committee—450, and the Russian committee—235. Basically, for some time now the Union supply service has only had Russian enterprises' output at its disposal. The Cabinet of Ministers based its policy with the republics on this, wrecking our economy more and more in the process. We could not accept this situation. So we have made ourselves wholly responsible for Russia's supply.

[Kovalenko] Together with Union structures. This has its pluses and minuses. It goes without saying that the pluses include the data banks and information channels which Russia has now gained. But the main point is that the specialists are perhaps the only people in the country who really know what we produce, where, and in what quantities. But for decades their sole task has been to divide and distribute. Will these traditions not crush the government's efforts to move toward a market economy?

[Lobov] In recent years, they have traded as well as divided and distributed. But that is not really the point. Enterprises have now gained fundamentally new status: They are fully in charge of their output.

[Kovalenko] What about the state order?

[Lobov] First, it will be quite small: 10-30 percent. Second, it will be concluded on a contractual basis and will be advantageous for the enterprise concerned. We have provided for a whole series of benefits: from tax rebates to the remuneration of transport costs. All remaining output (and we plan to meet enterprises' need for raw materials and semi-manufactures by at least 90

percent in 1992) will be poured onto the republic's open domestic market. Not a mythical market, but a very real market of goods and services.

[Kovalenko] You say the "republic's domestic market." Does this mean that enterprises will not be able to sell their output outside the republic?

[Lobov] No, they will be able to. But only within the limits of their licences. We are obliged to accept the rules of the game which have already been introduced. The Ukraine, for example, has long stipulated how much milk, meat, and sugar may be sold outside the republic. Or take another situation. All battery plants are in Russia, and all of them have been "idle" this year—because they have not been able to obtain lead. This is apparently because Kazakhstan and other traditional suppliers have been selling lead on the foreign market—halving the price, incidentally. I would not like to say whether this is good or bad. Perhaps it would be more profitable for us to buy lead abroad and sell batteries to Kazakhstan for hard currency. One thing is beyond doubt: In every such case you have to calculate and combine interests.

[Kovalenko] In other words, we are turning economic ties with the republics into foreign economic relations. I am afraid this may cause resentment.

[Lobov] I do not think so. The old system did not work anyway. The USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply could not guarantee deliveries, and we signed bilateral agreements but could not meet them, because we had no proper supply bodies. This contradiction has now been removed and interrepublic agreements are starting to work—far more efficiently than under the old system, incidentally.

A market system means order. But in our country it has begun with anarchy. It is obvious why, of course: Everyone wanted to keep all their options open. But this period of stagnation seems to be over. The time has come to form a full-fledged state. I am convinced that the present selfishness and convulsive concern for personal gain are only temporary. No one needs a poor, plundered Russia. Everyone wants to see it rich and prosperous. A new, voluntary Union will emerge on this basis.

'White House' Defenders During Coup Rewarded

LD1109023591 Moscow TASS in English 1814 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—A reward to a total sum of one million roubles was granted today to best defenders of the Russian House of Soviets during the coup on August 19-21.

The money, allocated by the Moscow Inkombank Innovative Bank, was given to staffers of the Interior Ministry, the State Security Committee and servicemen of the Defence Ministry of the Russian Federation.

Staffers of the Russian law enforcement bodies and military men, who defended the "White House" shoulder to shoulder with the ordinary people, managed to save the democracy in the country and, together with it, the arising business, said Inkombank board chairman Vladimir Vinogradov, who participated in the reward granting ceremony.

"Practically all the Russian militia supported the Russian Government during the coup attempt and defended the lawful presidential power in the republic", said First Deputy Russian Interior Minister Andrey Dunayev.

According to Dunayev, the Russian militia will continue to keep up with this course.

Dunayev is now considered a possible candidate for the nomination to the post of the Russian interior minister, which has so far been vacant, Soviet Interior Minister Viktor Barannikov said today.

Russian Government Responds to Fuel Shortages

LD0909154191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Sep 91 p 2

[Report by Sergey Nikitin: "Foreign Countries Will Have To Manage Without Coal. We Ourselves Do Not Have Enough"]

[Text] According to forecasts by the Hydrometeorological Center, a long and frosty winter awaits us this year. How can we fully prepare ourselves to meet it, given the continuing economic decline and the well-known political metamorphoses? This question of vital importance to us all was recently discussed in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, where leaders of relevant ministries, state committees, and industrial enterprises, concerns, and associations assembled.

The situation taking shape is a really threatening one. All schedules for repairing housing and power and water supply systems have long been disrupted, the reason being the total absence of material and technical resources and a sharp reduction in the total volume of fuel extracted.

A minimum of 15 Russian cities are on the verge of shutting down their water supply systems because there are no chemical reagents. The republic is meeting almost one-half of the necessary aluminum hydroxide requirements through imports. In order to resolve the problem at least $2 million must immediately be found for the chemical.

Enterprises in "fraternal union republics" have practically stopped contract deliveries entirely. Those that are trying to meet their commitments do not have the power

to get past the customs which have been set up on all roads leading into Russia. Thus, a column of trucks carrying radiators was recently detained on the border with the Ukraine and sent back.

The fuel situation is even more depressing. Because of the prolonged miners' strikes the coal procurement plan for the winter is one-third below target. Oil extraction has been cut: It is largely "thanks to" a Sumgait monopoly plant that has stopped deliveries of special equipment that 22,000 wells are standing completely idle. Before every fall-winter season the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry has pumped natural gas into special reserve stores. This year this department demonstrated a most striking example of "proletarian internationalism" by supplying all republics almost fully and "forgetting" only about Russia, leaving empty seven gas stores with a volume of 30 billion cubic meters!

The only thing Russians can do in this difficult situation is to rely on their own efforts, O. Lobov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, thinks.

The RSFSR Ministry of the Economy has been instructed to make proposals on including in the state order for 1992 the delivery of 54 million tonnes of coal to coal industry enterprises, 31.9 million of which are for the population, and the delivery of 18 million cubic meters of firewood to timber industry enterprises, 9 million of which are for the population.

In order to accumulate minimum fuel reserves at Russian electric power stations the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry and the Ministry of Railways have been jointly instructed to deliver 500,000 tonnes of Maritime Kray coal and 200,000 tonnes each of Sakhalin and Urals coal in excess of contracts this year, and to deliver on the same terms a million tonnes of fuel oil to the "Rosnefteprodukt" concern and 100,000 tonnes of diesel fuel to electric power stations in the Far East and Far North.

Councils of Ministers of republics making up the RSFSR jointly with the Glavgosenergonadzor [main administration overseeing energy resources—precise expansion unknown] are carrying out backup and protection measures for energy systems in cities against possible emergencies. In every republic, kray, and oblast maximum electrical power usage amounts will be fixed, and measures will also be taken to fully utilize autonomous power supplies.

It has also been decided to temporarily suspend the validity of licenses issued for fuel delivery abroad until the republic's needs are fully satisfied.

Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy Crisis

OW1109133591 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 0900 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Video report by V. Plotskiy; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] In the 5 August Vremya program I described how the North of Kamchatka is being left without practically any fuel for the coming winter and that there are no apparent ways to solve this problem. Now there is an even more serious situation developing around Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, around the residential areas that surround Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy.

The Kamchatka TETs-2 was commissioned five years ago but even today hardly 30 percent of the station's capacity is being used. For several years now hot water has not been supplied to the pipeline network. The fact is that there are no so-called TsTP, thermal points [teplovoy punkt] along their routes. This one, which in fact belongs to the city's municipal services, has also been under construction for several years, and this situation exists over nearly the entire northern part of the oblast capital. At the same time, dozens—if not hundreds—of chimneys of boiler houses belch clouds of poisonous smoke into the air.

Now a word about fuel oil: Presently the Kamchatenergo [Kamchatka Oblast Power Engineering] association has a fuel reserve that is 50 percent less than it had at this time in past years.

[Begin recording] [Plotskiy] Now what is actually interrupting the delivery of fuel to Kamchatka?

[Klochkov] Twice as much fuel must be brought in in the September-December period than was brought in in previous years. This is a very serious task for the USSR Minmorflot [Ministry of the Maritime Fleet] and for the Rossnefteprodukt [Russian petroleum products] company. So on our own behalf and on behalf of the population, we Kamchatka power engineering workers are appealing to these organizations to apply their utmost efforts in order to fulfill the task outlined in the aforementioned resolution and deliver the neccesary quantity of fuel to us so that industry does not stop and the people of Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy City can be provided heat and electricity. [end recording]

Fuel Rationing Enacted

LD1009202191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] The inhabitants of Petropavlovsk-Kamchatka and nearby regions have begun strict measures to save electric power as of this morning. Twice a day for one hour the electricity will be cut off to houses, communal and consumer services, and agricultural enterprises.

It has been confirmed that the inhabitants of this region will continue to be affected by this measure until the end of this year. The main reason for the introduction of such measures is the shortage of fuel oil, which is the basic fuel for the local heat and electric power plant. According to the statement put out by representatives of the executive committee, the reserves of fuel oil in the oblast are very low. The situation is worsened by the shortage of tankers for the delivery of fuel, because the

main transport firm, the Maritime Shipping Line, is servicing only the Arctic zone, whereas Kamchatka is being left in the cold.

RSFSR To Control Energy Industries

LD1109223391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], has issued instructions on additional measures for the provision of management for the fuel and energy complex on Russia's territory. The document states that the RSFSR Ministry of Fuel and Energy is a state body for managing the fuel and energy complex on the territory of the republic. Activities of the USSR Ministry of Energy and Electrification, USSR Ministry of Coal Industry, USSR Ministry of Oil and Gas Industry, USSR Ministry of Atomic Energy and Industry, the GasProm state concern, and the NefteGasStroy state concern for oil and gas construction have been suspended on RSFSR territory. It is ordered that the officials of the above-mentioned ministries and concerns will continue to carry out their official duties, being guided in so doing by the decisions of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and RSFSR Ministry of Fuel and Energy and the instructions of the plenipotentiary members of the Russian government. The buildings in Moscow where the central administrative bodies of these ministries and concerns are situated are being transfered to the RSFSR Ministry of Fuel and Energy.

Council of Ministers' Resolution on Grain Storage

LD0909185991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1650 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 9 September (TASS)—The Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] has adopted a resolution "On conditions of acceptance of grain for state storage in the RSFSR" which aims at efficient utilization of grain resources and reduction of grain losses during storage.

An official report of the RSFSR president's information department, which was circulated today, says that the decision envisages:

1. The RSFSR Ministry of Procurement is to accept grain unconditionally from collective farms, state farms and other agricultural enterprises, as well as from peasants and farmers holdings fulfilling the set targets for supplies of grain to the state which have been adjusted to the actual yield of the current year.

The procurement enterprises and organisations of the RSFSR Ministry of Procurement system are to bear the cost of grain storage.

When grain is delivered for state storage for six months or more, the owner is issued with additional grain at a level of 10 percent of the quantity delivered. If the owner wishes, the payment can be made in money.

If grain is stored for up to six months, enterprises make a monthly payment to owners of 10 percent of the value of the grain according to state purchase prices.

The grain accepted for storage is subject to mandatory return to its owners on expiry of the contractual period.

2. The RSFSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the RSFSR Ministry of Procurement are to fix a procedure for accepting, storing and returning grain within 10 days.

3. The RSFSR Ministry of Finance is to make provision for a procedure of compensating losses to the RSFSR Ministry of Procurement for these purposes.

Textile Workers Suffer From Poor Cotton Supplies

LD0809055991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] The textile workers of Ivanovo oblast are experiencing major difficulties. Since 26 June, that is, for more than two months, there have been no incoming supplies of cotton from Uzbekistan. After using up all their fiber reserves, the oblast's factories and combines were in danger of coming to a complete standstill. They produce one quarter of the country's cotton fabric output.

Finally, there was good news from Moscow. Following insistent requests by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, President Karimov of Uzbekistan has ordered an immediate start to shipments of cotton to Russia. To meet the textile mills' needs, 100,000 tonnes of cotton have been taken from state reserves. While expressing their gratitude for this to the Russian leadership, the Ivanovo textile workers nonetheless note bitterly that our economy once again has been taken hostage by political passions. Unless an agreement on an economic union is signed in the near future between the republics, another emergency cannot be ruled out.

Agriculture Minister Assesses Food Supply

LD0709133791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2036 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Summary] G. V. Kulik, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] minister of agriculture and food, has said he is confident that Russia will harvest 92-93 million tonnes of grain this year. As of yesterday, 73 million tonnes had been threshed. During the past week, the yield was more than 11 quintals. The harvest is proceeding normally. Despite various problems, the harvest rate is higher than in previous years and the losses are smaller, Kulik said. However, the average consumption of bread in the republic is 312 grams per person per day. In some regions it is 450 grams or more. So, it is necessary to import some grain, Kulik said.

The average consumption of sugar is 44 kg per person. Kulik said about 7.5 million tonnes of sugar are needed to meet this demand. Russia produces 2.5 million tonnes, and receives about 1 million tonnes from the

Ukraine and imports the rest. There were shortages in July and August, but imports are now arriving.

The vegetable oil harvest will be a little down this year but still around the average mark.

"So there are no grounds for the terrible conclusion that there will be hunger," Kulik said.

The Army is helping with the harvest—37,000 military vehicles are in use at present.

The amount of animal feed brought in to date is no less than in 1990 except in four regions: Omsk, Kurgan, Chelyabinsk "and one other oblast". The drop in the number of head of livestock is continuing. There will be less concentrated fodder than last year. The amount of coarse and succulent fodder will be at about the same level. There will be no increase in productivity to make up for the drop in livestock numbers. Hence, in the past few months there has been a decline in purchases of meat and milk compared with last year, but only of three percent. Production on personal plots is expanding.

Council of Ministers' Directive on Food Exports

PM1109084191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Untitled report by Aleksandr Dergachev under the "Direct Line" rubric]

[Text] Krasnodar—The Krasnodar Kray Soviet of People's Deputies Presidium has abolished restrictions on the export of agricultural produce beyond the Kuban's borders. A directive from the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers has been adopted for guidance, whereby agricultural raw materials (principally grain) can only be shipped outside RSFSR territory with a license issued by the Russian Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the Ministry of Grain Products, while within RSFSR territory grain can only be sold at exchanges or in barter deals and can only be exported beyond kray and oblast borders with a license from kray and oblast soviet executive committees.

St. Petersburg Privatizes Food Industry

LD1009085391 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Irina Zolotareva]

[Text] St. Petersburg September 9 TASS—More than 50 percent of the basic assets of St. Petersburg food enterprises, numbering about thirty in all, will henceforth belong to the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Products of the Russian Federation and the food committee of the local municipal council. They have concluded a commercial agreement, transferring to these organisations the ownership of a whole branch of the city's industry.

"This step was prompted by the alarming situation at food enterprises, which suffered, even before the local population, from slumping deliveries of foostuffs to the city," chairman of the city food committee Sergey Pokrovskiy told TASS. He noted with regret that this produced a situation, when personal, and sometimes even collective interests at enterprises, which were given the right to independently sell from 10 to 20 percent of their production, prevailed over the interests of local consumers. The management and workers cared more for the profitable sale of this share than for improving the supply of food to the population. Now the managers of enterprises employed on contract and work collectives will be able to purchase 49 percent of the basic assets.

"If somebody disagrees, we will be compelled to seek other share holders," Pokrovskiy stressed. "It is necessary to resolutely accelerate reforms in order to prevent the food market from collapsing."

Pokrovskiy said that it was necessary, in his opinion, to privatize all commercial enterprises without exception and to settle the question of tax exemption for at least three years to joint-stock and small-scale food enterprises, as well as industrial establishments investing money in agriculture.

COMNE's Yavlinskiy Addresses News Conference

Announces Large-Scale Reforms

OW1209061391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, another vice-head of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy [COMNE], told a Moscow news conference on Wednesday that Russia may launch large-scale economic reforms independently in the event of the other republics' unwillingness to endorse the economic agreement prepared by the COMNE. He said the RSFSR "has every economic opportunity" for seeing through whatever reforms it needs without external assistance.

According to Mr. Yavlinskiy, the draft Inter-Republican Treaty of Economic Alliance was sent to the republican parliaments last Sunday. There have been reports of a "generally positive attitude" to the document on the part of the RSFSR leadership. The process of signing the treaty should not take longer than one month, G. Yavlinskiy said, but added that "Russia cannot afford to wait too long."

Mr. Yavlinskiy said the main difficulty would be to combine "professional requirements with the political ambitions of the republican leaders."

Speaks on Inter-Republican Accord

LD1109195891 Moscow TASS in English 1937 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Leksandrova]

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Deputy Head of the Soviet Committee for Running National Economy Grigoriy Yavlinskiy on Wednesday said a draft agreement on an inter-republican economic union will soon be discussed by the republics' leaders at a soviet State Council meeting.

The draft does not bind republics with political obligations. All republics, regardless of their participation in a political union, are invited to discuss and sign it.

Yavlinsky believes the most difficult task will be "to combine economists's professional demands with political ambitions of republican leaders".

He says the agreement could be signed within six weeks. "Russia cannot wait longer. If other republics do not start reforms within a reasonable period of time, Russia, from an economic point of view, will have all possibilities for carrying out reforms on its own," Yavlinskiy said.

Authors of the draft say republics will gain nothing if they refuse to sign the agreement. "At present, an economic union is not a matter of choice but an objective necessity," yavlinskiy said.

The draft agreement envisages national currencies in republics, provided they sign a relevant agreement with the Union.

Speaking on the Soviet Union's foreign debt, Yavlinskiy said the country should fulfil its financial obligations, but said the idea to divide it between republics is wrong. The draft contains a mechanism for solving this problem without dividing the debt.

He ruled out any large-scale western aid until the agreement is signed.

Yavlinskiy said radical reforms have certain social flaws but "it will cost us more not to carry out reforms than to implement them".

Speaking on the current economic crisis, Yavlinskiy said industrial production dropped by 15-16 percent over the first half of the year, while inflation rates reached two-three percent a week in mid-August. He predicted a 20 percent decline in oil production by the end of the year.

Outlines Aims of Economic Treaty

LD1109214891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] A year ago to a day, on the same fall day of 11 September, the Parliament of the Russian Federation approved the idea of an economic treaty, or union, between the republics. Well, as you know, at that point such a treaty was neither fully drafted nor signed. Today, at the Foreign Ministry press center [not further specified] a news conference took place devoted to the preparation of the treaty on the Economic Union. Grigoriy Aleksandrovich Yavlinskiy, deputy chairman of the Committee for Operational Management of the USSR National Economy, answered questions. This is what he said:

[Begin recording] This document does not impose any political conditions. It is being suggested that all the republics, irrespective of whether they join the political union or not, should take part in the discussion, and if they find it possible and desirable, to sign this document. The document allows for both full membership and associate membership of the Economic Union.

The aim of the treaty is that the policies of all the republics which in one way or another enter the treaty should be such as to enable them to get out of the crisis. The specific feature of the treaty is that it is oriented not toward sovereign republics but toward independent states. We believe that this process will continue, and eventually all republics will declare themselves to be independent states.

Therefore, we proceeded from the principle that independent states must have an opportunity to introduce all the elements that they need in order to feel really independent. It is another matter that there are great problems in the economy. As you know, inflation is growing and there is a sharp fall in production. Therefore, another purpose of the treaty is to lead the republics out of the crisis. [end recording]

Nizhniy Novgorod Hosts Trade Fair

PM1109090191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Report by O. Bobin, N. Vakhromeyev, from Nizhniy Novgorod; from the "Television News Service" newscast—figures in brackets denote broadcast time in GMT in hours, minutes, and seconds]

[Text] [120348] [Bobin] Russia's leading economic center—the Nizhniy Novgorod Trade Fair—was located here, on the confluence of the Volga and Oka Rivers, before the revolution. Unfortunately, only the main trade center building has survived from the past. Many questions concerning the revival of the country were decided in this building during the NEP [New Economic Policy] period.

Now, 62 years later, foreign countries' flags are again flying above the center. There are eleven of them for the time being. But the exposition is a large one. Enterprises from Nizhniy Novgorod and nearby cities are displaying their output.

[Bobin turning to official] Summing up the results of the trade fair, can you tell us what it has done for the city?

[O.Kh. Sharadze, chairman of Nizhniy Novgorod City Soviet Executive Committee] We have hundreds of enterprises in our city. At this trade fair they have been able to see that they can and must engage in foreign economic activity and also trade within the union. There are many proposals to this effect. For example, it has been suggested that since we have an aviation plant in our city, an airshow should be opened here as we do not yet have one in our country.

[Bobin] Many of the city's plants were secret plants. People in our country knew nothing about their tremendous technological and scientific potential. Now even foreign partners have been able to see it for themselves. So, the main result is that the city has become an open city, and the trade fair has accelerated the process of conversion.

Oleg Bobin reporting from Nizhniy Novgorod, specially for the Television News Service.

Moscow 'Unfavorable' for Commercial Activity

LD0809141791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Video report by correspondent M. Tregubenko, including recorded interview with M.M. Gurtovoy, member of the board of the Moscow Convention of Entrepreneurs, and with unidentified speaker; from the "Television News Service" program presented by Marina Nazarova]

[Text] [Nazarova] The Russian leadership has received a stab in the back from its own business circles, if it can be put that way.

[Tregubenko] The Moscow Convention of Entrepreneurs has declared Moscow a territory unfavorable for commercial activity. That is in reply to the decree by the president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, which gives the city's mayor's office the power to interfere in the market mechanism. This decree gives the mayor's office broad rights to regulate prices as it sees fit. The capital's businessmen are afraid of becoming victims of the authorities' overstepping their powers, and are very determined.

[Gurtovoy] That is a forced measure. All commercial structures which agree with the decision of the Convention of Entrepreneurs—and the main commercial structures belong to our organization today—will be withdrawn from Moscow, as far as possible.

[Tregubenko] But there are also other points of view.

[Unidentified speaker] Well, I think that the decree itself is, of course, wrong. Moreover, I think that entrepreneurial structures have somewhat other forms and methods for combatting decrees and resolutions which on the whole do not correspond to today's level of development in the market. I do not consider it expedient to move the center of business from Moscow to other cities.

[Tregubenko] The convention thinks that unless the decree is revoked, Moscow may become a kind of necropolis, because a city in which no enterpise is undertaken is dead. Until the legislative mechanisms become more maneuverable, one can only guess the fate of the city.

Entrepreneur Council Established in Moscow

OW1109115991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday, the heads of JVs, leased enterprises, cooperatives, exchanges, and commercial banks united within the USSR Scientific-Industrial League (Russian acronym: NPS) decided to set up a Supreme Council of Entrepreneurs. The new council's specific status will be presented to the NPS president Arkadiy Volskiy next Monday. The organizers say the council will be attached to the USSR State Council and conduct expert checks on all legislative and executive acts concerning the economy.

Entrepreneurs attending Tuesday's meeting expressed concern over the set of anti-market measures taken by the democratic leaderships of Russia and Moscow. They were especially critical of a recent instruction by RSFSR Deputy Finance Minister Ulyanov concerning the taxation of exchanges. Speakers expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that many Moscow buildings which used to belong to the CPSU until it was dissolved, had been transferred to the "new bureaucrats" of Moscow and Russia.

Foreign Investments Law Published

91AA0961A

For this law published in the 25 July 1991 SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, see the FBIS Report Soviet Union: Republic Affairs, FBIS-USR-91-018, dated 30 July 1991, pp 47-54.

Law on Banking Published

91UN2142A

For this law published in the February 1991, No 4, BIZNES I BANKI, see the FBIS Report Soviet Union: Republic Affairs, FBIS-USR-91-020, dated 6 August 1991, pp 60-66.

Protest Rally Outside Moldova Mission in Moscow

LD1109015891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 10 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Excerpts] A protest rally took place in Moscow near the building of the permanent mission of Moldova.

[Correspondent M. Zotov] The demonstration, which was organized by the Russian committee in support of the Russian-speaking population and the peasants' revival union, in the words of the organizers themselves, pursued one aim: to state once again the need for the release of the leaders of the Gagauz and of the Dnestr republic. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified man] That rally, or picket, it can be called either, may be called a protest rally against the violation of human rights in Moldova.

[Zotov] What was the reaction to what was happening on the streets outside that building? Here is the permanent representative of Moldova to Moscow.

[V. Chebuk, first deputy prime minister of the republic of Moldova] Smirnov and other so-called leaders [laughs], so-called leaders of the so-called republics, have been detained in accordance with the resolutions of the parliament of the Republic of Moldova on the basis of the law.

[Zotov] That is to say, according to the laws of Moldova, Smirnov and Topal do not enjoy deputies' immunity?

[Chebuk] Naturally, that is... the fact of the matter is that an anti-constitutional republic was set up and they formed these bodies but we are sure that these problems can be regulated by political methods alone, on the basis of law.

[Zotov] The last statement by the permanent representative of the republic of Moldova to Moscow introduces an element of hope in the conflict that is developing. Mikhail Zotov from the permanent mission of Moldova to Moscow.

One-Month State of Emergency in Dagestan Rayon

LD1209102891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1000 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] A report from our own correspondent: Dagestan has become yet another seat of confrontation in interethnic relations in the southern Caucasus. Here, in Kazbekovskiy Rayon, a state of emergency has been introduced by decree of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium from 1800 hours yesterday for one month. This measure results from a desire to normalize the situation.

Ban on Organizations Reconsidered After Protest

PM1109134191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Union Edition p 8

[Report by V. Goergiyevskiy: "Prefect Heeds Prosecutor and Makes His Apologies to Writers"]

[Text] On 2 September Moscow Prosecutor Gennadiy Ponomarev objected to a decision by Aleksandr Muzykantskiy, prefect of the capital's Central District (IZVESTIYA No. 209). The latter suspected Russian writers of involvement in the activity of the SCSE [State Council for the State of Emergency] and had therefore suspended the activity of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Writers' Union and sealed its premises. The prosecutor deemed such actions by the prefect illegal.

On 4 September A. Muzykantskiy acknowledged his mistake, accepted the prosecutor's appeal, and lifted suspicion from the Russian writers. The prefect went to the RSFSR Writers' Union and apologized to the writers. But the matter will clearly not end there. The city prosecutor's office has received a request from a Moscow City Soviet deputy to check the legality of Muzykantskiy's order. The question was put in the following terms: Do the prefect's actions not contain elements of an administrative violation of the law or a criminal offense?

The Moscow prosecutor's resoluteness has clearly given other officials food for thought. On 4 September, without waiting for an appeal to be lodged, Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov voluntarily rescinded his decision of 30 August whereby he charged the leadership of the city DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] committee of "unlawful, anticonstitutional actions assisting the putschists in carrying out the coup." By his August decision the mayor temporarily suspended the activity of the voluntary assistants of the Army, Air Force, and Navy, ordered the militia to seal all their buildings and facilities and confiscate equipment and machinery, and instructed the city services to cut off telephone communication and the power supply.

The work of the city DOSAAF is now gradually being restored. The confiscated equipment and machinery is being handed back and communications and the power supply are being restored. The DOSAAF's loyalty to the new authority will be verified by a special commission set up by that same 4 September mayoral decision.

Maritime Kray KGB Leaders To Be Investigated

PM1109104791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by correspondent S. Avdeyev: "Humble Petition"]

[Text] Vladivostok—Forty chekists of the KGB directorate for Maritime Kray have signed a telegram to Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic President B. Yeltsin demanding the resignation of the directorate's leadership as having compromised itself during the days of the "black" coup.

A special commission has flown out of Moscow to verify the facts indicated in the telegram. KGB Directorate

Chairman K. Grigoryev has been suspended from his official duties for the duration of its work.

Tuva Autonomous SSR Becomes Republic of Tuva

LD0909073191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0700 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] The Tuva ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] will henceforth be called the Republic of Tuva. This decision was made by an extraordinary session of the Republic's Supreme Soviet.

Nizhniy Novgorod Soviet Presidium Resigns

PM1109131591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 2

[TASS report under general heading: "Evening Teletype"]

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies has accepted the resignation of its entire presidium, including soviet chairman S. Sokolov. The resignation was prompted by very fierce criticism of the oblast leadership, which was unable in the tragic days to be a real leader of the Nizhniy Novgorod people.

Nizhniy Novgorod Nuclear Station's Fate Eyed

PM1209102191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Fate of Nuclear Power Station in Nizhniy Novgorod in Doubt"]

[Text] The fate of the Nizhniy Novgorod nuclear heat supply station, designed as a basic source of heat and highly assessed by specialists in an IAEA independent appraisal, has still not been determined, although about 300 million rubles has been invested in construction and the installation of equipment.

Incidentally, there are now about 50 frozen energy sites in the country.

'Scandal' in Sverdlovsk Over Governorship

PM1209125591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by V. Sanatin: "I Would Choose Rossel. Only Why?"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk—A scandal has erupted in Sverdlovsk Oblast Soviet. As is known, the Russian Government intends to introduce the post of administration head in every RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Oblast. Whereas strong-arm methods have been required to shuffle cadres in a number of oblasts which supported the State Committee for the State of Emergency, it would seem that appointments must be made democratically in regions with a democratic majority.

Very early on the morning of Friday 6 September E. Rossel, chairman of Sverdlovsk Oblast Soviet, gathered the presidium together and read out a telephone message received from the Russian Government, ostensibly from Makharadze himself. Containing a proposal to name a candidacy for approval as administration head. A staunch majority of the presidium at once agreed to give the "governor's portfolio" to Comrade Rossel. They voted and sent their "choice" to Moscow.

The deputies' control committee at once contacted Makharadze in Moscow. It turned out that there had been no demand for the Sverdlovsk Oblast administration head to be proposed for approval without delay! Nor had there been a request from the Russian Government with regard to the specific candidacy of E. Rossel...

The "Democratic Choice" faction, staggered by Rossel's conceit, lack of restraint, and pushiness, sent B.N. Yeltsin an appeal vigorously protesting such thefts of "governor's seats."

The main point is that E. Rossel's fellow-countrymen have very, very many questions to put to the chairman of Sverdlovsk Oblast Soviet. His firm friendship with the military-industrial complex and his attempt to sell Tagil tanks have not been forgotten. If only that friendship had been of visible benefit to the people! But the population remembers that Sverdlovsk Oblast received the right to use for barter 5 percent of the output produced. That is a volume of trade worth 1 billion rubles! The aluminum, copper, pipes, and machinery go off somewhere.... But the oblast resident does not have any vegetable oil to fry potatoes.

The scandal in the oblast soviet seems to be beginning to develop into street demonstrations with timid little posters: "Down with!" At present, these are handfuls of daredevils outside the city soviet in the central square of the oblast center. But tomorrow?

The Russian Government will evidently have to look for a mechanism for approving the new administrative power in the provinces. The oblast administration head, like city mayors, must be chosen in public!

Sverdlovsk Social Democrats Demand Assurances

PM1109170991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 2

[TASS report under general heading: "Evening Teletype"]

[Text] The Sverdlovsk organization of the Social Democratic Party of Russia has issued a statement entitled "After the Putsch" which voices the social democrats' stance regarding the current moment. "We would like from the Russian Federation authorities a clear and

frank statement that a course will be steered toward a capitalist market economy and that there will be no more experiments with communist and socialist utopias," it says.

Krasnoyarsk Party Property Transferred

PM1109163191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 1

[Report from roundup of INTERFAX, RIA, and TASS reports under general heading: "In Brief"]

[Text] The Krasnoyarsk Kray Soviet Executive Committee Presidium has transferred to the management of the kray soviet the mobile and immobile property of the Krasnoyarsk Russian Communist Party kray committee.

Buryat Republic Readopts 'Mongolian' in Its Name

PM1109090791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Untitled report by Vladimir Sbitnev under the "Direct Line" rubric]

[Text] Irkutsk—The Buryat SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution to rename the republic the Buryat-Mongolian Republic. A new element, which was deleted in 1953, has reappeared in its name, and the words "Soviet Socialist" have been removed.

Monarchist Leader Appoints Prince of Kievan Rus

LD0809223991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Text] Aleksey Brumel, the regent of the Russian monarchy who is at the same time the leader of the nobility in our republic, has revived the title of Prince [knyaz] of Kievan Rus. He said he has done this in order to bring about the spiritual unification of the Slav peoples at a crucial period of their history.

At a session of the Supreme Apostolic Council of the Monarchy, Brumel invested Arkadiy Bugayev with this title for a seven-year term. At the same time, the Russian Information Agency comments, the Union of Nobles/Gentry [Dvoryanskiy soyuz] takes an extremely skeptical view of the regent's activities.

Belorussia

Kebich Launches Government Action Program

PM1109140991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Sep 91 First Edition p 5

[Colonel P. Chernenko report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "V. Kebich's Statement"]

[Text] Minsk—A statement by V. Kebich, chairman of the Belorussian Council of Ministers, to the republic's citizens was circulated at a press conference. It confirms that only republic laws will now be valid on Belorussian territory. The government will take all the requisite steps to unconditionally carry out Belorussian laws, Belorussian Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers resolutions and orders, and all previous commitments arising from interrepublic and international agreements.

In effect, the statement by the chairman of the Belorussian Council of Ministers constitutes the Belorussian Government's action program for the forthcoming period. An anticrisis program will be put into effect, along with the real conversion of defense complex plants on Belorussian territory.

In the new free Belorussia, V. Kebich stressed, we must do everything to ensure that people of various nationalities live peacefully.

Commander 'Does Not Reject' National Guard Plan

PM1109131791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent M. Shimanskiy: "Belorussia Forming National Guard"]

[Text] Minsk—Belorussia is on the verge of creating a national guard. At least, this question has been very keenly discussed here of late, and the first real steps have been taken.

The Belorussian Association of Servicemen [Voyskovtsy] has been set up. What is it and what are its aims? I put this question to G. Bankevich, deputy chairman of the association.

[Bankevich] Our main task is to pool efforts to create a Belorussian national guard and army. The association has been joined by servicemen of different nationalities performing their service on Belorussian territory. We are inviting all Belorussian servicemen performing their service outside the republic, as well as reservists, to take part in joint work. We are preparing a number of draft laws on these questions with opposition deputies in the republic's legislature. We intend to resolve everything solely by constitutional means. We are considering submitting the question of the Belorussian national guard for discussion at the next session of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. [Bankevich ends]

But how does the Belorussian Military District command see the problem of national formations of servicemen? Colonel General A. Kostenko, commander of the Belorussian Military District, while favoring a single and indivisible USSR Army, does not reject the idea of creating a national guard or other national formations. He believes, however, that they should discharge other functions than the Army as a whole, for example: ensuring public order inside the republic, protecting important state facilities and establishments, and carrying out national economic work if the need arises. The protection of the republic's sovereignty should be one of the national guard's basic functions.

Minsk May Revert to Old Name of Mensk

PM1109144791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 91 p 1

[Correspondent O. Yegorova report: "'People of Mensk' Has a Proud Ring to It!"]

[Text] Minsk—There are two flags over the city soviet building in Minsk. One is the state flag, the other the national one: a white-red-white flag.

This is all legitimate. The decision was made by Minsk City Soviet. The city's ancient, 400-year-old emblem has also been returned to it—"The Chase" ["Pogonya"]. The decision includes this point: The suggestion is to be submitted to the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet to rescind the decision adopted in 1939, according to which the ancient Mensk was renamed Minsk.

Ukraine

Further on French Economy Minister's Visit

PM1109090491 Paris LE MONDE in French 10 Sep 91 p 4

["E. I." report: "The Ukraine Asks France To Support It In Its March Toward Independence"]

[Text] Kiev—As was announced on 24 August, the Ukraine is fully determined to become rapidly and truly independent. The republic's leaders (52 million inhabitants, responsible for half of the USSR's agricultural production) made no secret of their determination when talking to French Economy Minister Pierre Beregovoy who visited Kiev on Saturday 7 and Sunday 8 September. The visit was made within the framework of the mission that the Group of Seven countries entrusted to their finance ministers. Although a referendum will allow the Ukrainian population to take a stance on this question on 1 December, the republic's leaders have already asked France, through Mr. Beregovoy, to support them politically and economically in their march toward independence. "We live in Europe and everything that concerns Europe concerns us," the French minister said in the presence of the press. Ukrainian Prime Minister

Vitold Fokin added: "We are counting on your support with regard to recognition of our independence and aid for our economic development." Refusing to take a stance on the first question in the immediate future—it is regarded as "premature" before the referendum—the French minister said he is concerned at the serious deterioration in the Union's economic situation.

"We must not conceal the fact that the economic situation is serious," Mr. Beregovoy said in Russia, the Ukraine, and in the other republics. In the first half of 1991 and to be able to meet repayments on its debt, the Union's imports were reduced by 45 percent in value, and exports by 15 percent! In view of the fact that the former East European satellites have stopped their purchases, the republics are beginning to experience serious shortages of food products and medicines. The population everywhere is worried about a winter which promises to be very cold. The "center" leadership made specific requests to Mr. Beregovoy, notably in the medical sphere. The minister was due to report to his European colleagues on Monday, with France pledging to make its contribution.

In addition, the talks that Mr. Beregovoy had in both Moscow and Kiev related to the Union's new economic organization. On this subject, he was able to observe during his visit to Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, the persistence of numerous differences of opinion between the "center" and the republics. According to him, there is in Moscow, both around Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin, a "desire to create a common economic and monetary space, which would group full members, associate members, and possibly third countries,"—an organization drawing its inspiration to some extent from the EEC. The Ukraine, like the Baltic countries, could be among the associate countries. The Soviet president and the Russian president are in favor "of doing everything to ensure that the ruble becomes a convertible currency." On the other hand, the Ukrainian officials confirmed to Mr. Beregovoy their desire to protect their internal market by the introduction of customs duties, and to rapidly create a national currency in the Ukraine.

The speeding up of the transition to a market economy should, then, according to Mr. Beregovoy, "encourage the French and Western enterprises to show an interest in the markets" of the different republics. The minister hopes that with those of the other industrialized countries "they will invest in production there." Although the French economic administration plans to help the "center" and the different republics in the technical sphere, Mr. Beregovoy does not rule out bilateral agreements at different levels, including the local level, and plans to support the Ukraine in particular.

In Moscow on Saturday, Russian President Boris Yeltsin told Mr. Beregovoy that it is "the center that will have the responsibility for the Union's external security," that "all nuclear armaments will be brought back to Russian territory over the next 10 years" and that "some forms of nuclear tests" would be "ended." Mr. Yeltsin spoke "particularly warmly" of Francois Mitterrand and confirmed his acceptance of the French president's invitation to Paris. The Russian president is envisaging an official visit to France in the first quarter of 1992.

Presidential Election Attracts 21 Aspirants

PM1109122791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Sergey Tsikora report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Leonid Kravchuk Has 20 Rivals for the Ukrainian Presidency"]

[Text] The Ukraine is getting geared up for the republic presidential election. The election is set for 1 December and the preparatory campaign is gathering momentum by the day.

The presidential contest will clearly be very hard fought. The banning of Communist Party activity in the Ukraine has made it impossible for it to present its own candidates for the highest office in the republic. Consequently, other parties, movements, and associations have sharply stepped up their activity. Fifteen of them, according to the Central Electoral Commission, have already received documents accepting their registration and granting them the right to put forward their candidacy for the Ukrainian presidency.

The Central Electoral Commission has supplied the names of 21 contenders. These include L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, nominated by kolkhoz members of Vinnitsa Oblast; Yu. Shcherbak, republic environmental protection minister; V. Chornovil, chairman of Lvov Oblast Soviet; V. Yavorivskiy, head of the Chernobyl Commission and a writer; B. Mokin, rector of Vinnitsa Polytechnical Institute... To get their name entered on the ballot paper each contender has to submit a list of 100,000 voters who have consented to support him.

It is clear right now that not all of them will manage to overcome this preelection hurdle. Of the 21 contenders, 13 have put forward their own candidacy. Among the 13 are cooperative members, an artist, a poet, two pensioners, and three temporarily unemployed. It is highly unlikely that all of them will manage to secure the support of 100,000 voters.

The Ukrainian presidential election campaign will cost the republic 80 million rubles.

Kravchuk Tours Republic To Promote Independence

LD1109045391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1300 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, is leaving today for a trip around the southern oblasts of the republic, where its basic industrial potential is concentrated. He will try to convince the local population to come out in favor of Ukrainian independence in the 1 December referendum.

Second Kiev Mayor Resigns 'on Health Grounds'

PM1209104591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[I. Tikhomorov report: "Situation Vacant. Wanted: Mayor in Good Health"]

[Text] Kiev—G. Malyshevskiy, chairman of the Kiev City Soviet and City Soviet Executive Committee, has resigned on health grounds.

His predecessor's "health" lasted barely three months. Grigoriy Dmitriyevich lasted a bit longer. Naturally, such frequent changes are costly. The city soviet presidium has now been instructed to present a legislative initiative to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium regarding elections for mayor.

Crimea Tatars Demonstrate Outside Supreme Soviet

LD1109215191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2025 GMT 11 Sep 91

[L. Ilchenko video report from the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet building; from the "Television News Service" program—recorded]

[Text] [Ilchenko] Here, in front of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet building, we can see a group of people who have gathered under the national flag of the Crimean Tatars.

[Riza Abdulayev, teacher; identified from caption] We are picketing the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet building so that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, and Presidium Chairman Kravchuk in particular, will receive representatives of the Majlis, the authorized body of the Crimean Tatars.

[Ilchenko] Which problems concern you now?

[Yemina Ablyaeva, engineer] About 200 houses have already been built in the Molodezhniy settlement, Simferopolskiy Rayon. Families that have arrived from Uzbekistan were planning to move there, having already sold their houses. They were planning to settle here. On 2 August, at the order [Ablyaeva changes thought] ...in accordance with the resolution of the rayon executive committee, these houses were taken away, and now these people are living in tents, in the rain.

[M. Ablyazov, engineer] We are striving to gain the restoration of our statehood; that is to say, a national-territorial autonomous entity in the Crimea, lying within the Ukraine. [video shows Ilchenko standing in front of Ukrainian Supreme Soviet with demonstrators]

Kharkov KGB Division To Join Republican Guard

PM1109130391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 2

[Report from roundup of TASS and INTERFAX reports under general heading: "In Brief"]

[Text] The command and nearly all the personnel of the motorized rifle division of the former USSR KGB special troops stationed in Kharkov Oblast have decided to join the republican guard of sovereign Ukraine. The servicemen have lodged a relevant appeal with the republic's parliament and government.

Odessa Oblast Soviet Head Wins Confidence Vote

PM1009142191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Leonid Kapelyushnyy report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Soviet Decides It Has Confidence in Its Chairman and Increases Grain Sales"]

[Text] Odessa—An extraordinary session of the Odessa Oblast Soviet has convened to discuss the political situation in the oblast.

The basic question is clearly this: Who was with whom during the days of the coup? Together with a report by Oblast Soviet Chairman R. Bodelan, the session was presented with a codeclaration by the "Initsiativa" deputies' group. The main point of the codeclaration was to accuse R. Bodelan of vacillating and temporizing during the days of the putsch.

The oblast soviet chairman categorically rejected the charges that he had appeased the putschists and demanded that the question of deputies' confidence in him be raised.

It seems to me that the main news from the session is not the fact that R. Bodelan gained the soviet's support and confidence by a vast majority of votes, but that the session decided to sell 120,000 tonnes of grain in excess of the quantity stipulated in the contract. The Ukrainian Government has issued a directive on how much is supposed to be shipped to the state granaries. The Odessa region, for example, has been set a target representing an order of 1.275 million tonnes. If the oblast were to comply with the order, public sector stockraising would go into the winter with only 58 percent of the necessary feed reserves. I do not need to say what a threat this would pose.

Consumer Protection Law Published

91UN2187A

For this law published in the 26 June 1991 PRAVDA UKRAINY, see the FBIS Report Soviet Union: Republic Affairs, FBIS-USR-91-020, dated 6 August 1991, pp 82-88.

Moldova

Supreme Soviet Demands USSR Forces Withdrawal

AU1109154491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1459 GMT 11 sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/9/1991—The Republic of Moldova firmly opts for the non-proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, the parliament at Chisinau [Kishinev] says in a declaration sent by MOLDOVA PRESS. It is determined to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and the other international agreements on banning and eliminating the weapons of mass destruction, and will also work for the destruction of all nuclear and other arms of mass destruction.

To achieve this, all USSR Armed Forces must withdraw from the territory of the Republic of Moldova, taking with them the nuclear weapons and their vectors, should the Soviet Army have such arms deployed in the territory of the Republic of Moldova, the document stresses.

The Republic of Moldova fully supports the aims and principles enshrined in the Charter of Paris concerning the confidence-building and strengthening security in Europe, and is ready to join the conventional armed forces talks under way in Vienna. It will set up military units the duty of which will be to watch over state security and integrity, respect for the constitutional order and human rights, in conditions of openness and in agreement with the provisions of the Charter of Paris and the Vienna document.

In its approach to political and military problems at European and regional level, the Republic of Moldova states its readiness [for] a constructive contribution to stability and respect for the security interests of all countries, in line with the international agreements in force, the declaration says. The emergence in Europe of newly independent states that broke away from the USSR should not affect the progress made so far toward military stability on this continent, or lead to new developments apt to jeopardize the security of any state or group of states, the declaration of the parliament of the Republic of Moldova says.

Tension 'Increasing' in Dnestr; Blockade Continues

LD1109133191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Tension is increasing more and more between the left and right banks of the Dnestr in Moldova. Women and children in Bendery, Rybnitsa, and Komrat are into their second week of mounting a militant blockade on the railway. According to information that has come in today, they were joined on Monday evening by women from the southern rayon center of Vulkaneshty. The pickets are insisting on the release of deputies of various ranks from the Dnestr basin and Gagauziya who have been arrested by the Moldovan police. Direct losses from stopping freight and passenger traffic on the Moldovan railway over the first eight days of the picketing come to more than 1.5 million rubles. Thousands of wagons carrying raw materials for industrial enterprises have accumulated on the approaches to Moldova.

Concerning the prospects for settling the conflict, local observers note that both sides are currently counting on force, whipping up passions to the extreme. The situation could get out of control at any time.

Moscow 'Interference' Protested

LD1109200591 Moscow TASS in English 1948 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Kishinev September 11 TASS—The Moldovian Interior Ministry described the Moscow meeting between the leadership of the Soviet Interior Ministry and a delegation from the Supreme Soviet of the Dnestr Republic as a "direct interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign and independent state," the MOLDOVA-PRESS news agency reports.

A report on this meeting was published today by the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper.

The Moldovian Interior Ministry views this fact as "a support for political adventurers, whose actions are aimed at dividing the republic, deepen the economic crisis and inter-ethnic confrontation," says a statement circulated here.

Launching a resolute protest against actions by the Soviet Interior Ministry, the leadership of the Moldovian Interior Ministry demanded "corresponding explanations" on this matter.

Dnestr Deputy Fears Bloodshed

PM1209094191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 1

[Interview with A. Saydakov, Dnestr Republic Supreme Soviet deputy, by L. Krutakov, in Moscow; date not given; first paragraph is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction: "Will Moldova Have Its Own Karabakh?"]

[Text] A delegation of the Dnestr Republic Supreme Soviet has arrived in Moscow for talks, and meetings have been held with the leadership of the Russian KGB and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. The purpose of the talks is to avert possible bloodshed.

"Something terrible is happening," said A. Saydakov, Dnestr Republic Supreme Soviet deputy. "You get the impression that we have returned to 1937. Mass arrests of deputies are being made based on a footnote to Article 203 of the Moldovan Criminal Code dealing with sedition. The security services under the leadership of I. Kostash are breaking down doors, pulling people out of their beds, beating them up right there, and then throwing them into a cell. Dnestr President I. Smirnov

was even seized on the territory of the sovereign republic in a Ukrainian Supreme Soviet car."

[Krutakov] According to the official version, the persons arrested supported the activity of the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

[Saydakov] During those three days neither the government nor the Supreme Soviet of the Dnestr region signed a single document concerning the State Committee for the State of Emergency. The official version is merely a cover for reprisals against the opposition. Confessions are extorted by any means. Deputy I. Popov was so badly beaten up that his wife did not recognize her husband when she came to meet him. Only now has it been learned that I. Smirnov was thrown into a cell with common criminals...

[Krutakov] I understand that tension is increasing in the republic. People's militia detachments are being actively created in the Dnestr region, and the Moldovan minister of internal affairs has declared that the police will act in accordance with the laws, even to the point of using weapons.

[Saydakov] Passions have been inflamed to the limit. On 4 September approximately 5,000 women and children went out and disrupted the railroads in Komrat, Rybnitsa, Tiraspol, and Bendery areas. The Moldovan Supreme Soviet is currently examining the question of using police forces to disperse the women who have blockaded the railroads. This is precisely why we are here, headed by Dnestr Supreme Soviet Chairman G. Marakuts. The situation is getting out of control. If even a single drop of blood is shed, there will be no restraining the people—we will get a new Karabakh.

Snegur on Guard Mobilization

OW1209113391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of Moldova Mircha Snegur has sent messages to the heads of local government bodies in Tiraspol, Bendery and several other towns in the Dnestr river valley saying that on Wednesday he was flooded with questions about the announcement of the mobilization of men to the National Guard in those areas.

"This is an extreme manifestation of recklessness," the president said and urged heads of local administrations to leave the people alone. "Otherwise you will be held responsible," the messages emphasised.

Presidential Decree Abolishes Republican KGB

LD1209101791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0600 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] By Moldovan presidential decree, the republican KGB has been abolished. A National Security Ministry has been formed on the basis of this decree. All buildings, installations, material, technical and financial resources, and the weapons of the former KGB have been declared the property of Moldova.

Interior Ministry To Guard Dams, Bridges

LD1109202491 Moscow TASS in English 1946 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Fyodor Angeliy]

[Text] Kishinev September 11 TASS—The Moldavian Government has instructed the republican Interior Ministry to guard the most important dams and bridges located on the republican territory.

The instruction, signed by Prime Minister Valeriy Muravskiy, notes that this is done in connection with the deterioration of the social and political situation provoked by the activities of destructive forces, and in order to prevent any acts of sabotage and provide for a normal functioning of transportation routes of the republic.

In his cable to chairmen of several cities and areas of the Dnestr region, Moldavian President Mircha Snegur described the creation of the National Guard there as the highest degree of thoughtless actions by separatist leaders, who mislead not only local residents but the public opinion outside Moldavia.

The heads have been warned that the president had given corresponding instructions to the republican law enforcement bodies on the protection of the Moldavian Constitution.

In case of their creation of the National Guard, they will be immediately subjected to criminal penalty.

Government Sets Up Border Checkpoints

LD1109174491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today the Moldovan Government has adopted a decision to set up 28 checkpoints on the republic's borders. An appropriate border service will be organized.

Further Details

LD1109225391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1030 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] The setting up of 28 border control and customs posts on the republic's borders is dictated by the need to protect Moldova's internal consumer market, according to a resolution adopted by the Government of Moldova today. The document rules that goods and other valuables may be transported across the republic's borders only through border control and customs posts.

President Snegur Favors National Currency, Banks

AU1109123291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1143 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/9/1991—Mr. Mircha Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova, stated in favour of the introduction of a national currency and a national banking system in the Republic of Moldova and said free elections would be held before mid-November.

Mr. Snegur said the introduction of the national currency and of a national banking system were needed to defend the country's economy and to privatize land and enterprises. He also said Moldova was ready to take part in a "joint economic space" among several Soviet republics. However, after the aborted coup in the USSR, Moldova, which declared its independence on August 27, opposed plans for participation in a political union, the president added.

Supreme Soviet Supports Human Rights Documents

AU1109154191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1509 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/9/1991—The Parliament in Chisinau [Kishinev] adopted a resolution—the text of which was released by MOLDOVA PRESS—which reads inter alia:

The parliament of the Republic of Moldova, recognizing the exceptional role of international instruments configuring the fundamental human rights and freedoms adopted by the United Nations and its special bodies as well as by the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe at the meetings in Helsinki, Madrid, Vienna, Copenhagen and Paris, adheres to the respective juridical instruments.

Recognizing the role of the Council of Europe and of the European Parliament in guaranteeing and protecting the fundamental human rights and freedoms, the parliament of the Republic of Moldova pledges to take into consideration the documents on human rights adopted by those organizations.

The standing commissions of the parliament and of the government of the Republic of Moldova, the Commission to Draft the New Constitution of the Republic of Moldova—the resolution further reads—will submit for approval the bills and changes of the laws of the Republic of Moldova in keeping with the stipulations of the aforementioned international juridical instruments.

Authorities Seen Blocking PRAVDA Publication

PM1209123591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[A. Pasechnik report under the rubric "Call to Own Correspondent": "Holder of Two Closing-Down Medals"]

[Text] Kishinev, 10 Sep—"Is that the newspaper with the two closing-down medals?.."

"What? I'm sorry, what do you mean...?"

"It is very simple. After all, PRAVDA has been closed down twice. Once in Moscow, and once in Kishinev. When will we be receiving your newspaper?"

The PRAVDA correspondents' center in Kishinev has been flooded with angry calls like this in the past few days. For almost three weeks now our subscribers in Moldova (there are around 20,000 of them) have been deprived of the possibility of reading their newspaper.

Back at the beginning of last week I spoke to Prime Minister V. Muravski: When would PRAVDA start coming out? After all, it had already re-registered according to the legal procedure and become independent. The premier firmly promised to give his staff the order to sort it out. He confirmed this firm intention the next day. And the day after... And so a second week of my thorough and very detailed talks with the government went by, and the republic's readers still have not seen PRAVDA in its new form...

Moldovan Citizenship Law Published

91UN2141A

For this law published in the 4 July 1991 SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA, see the FBIS Report Soviet Union: Republic Affairs, FBIS-USR-91-018, dated 30 July 1991, pp 35-41.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia Interviewed on 2 Sep Events

AU1109202791 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1430 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Interview with President Zviad Gamsakhurdia by Irakliy Gotsiridze, editor-in-chief of the independent weekly GRUZIYA SPEKTR; published in edition No. 19 of GRUZIYA SPEKTR dated 9-15 September 1991]

[Excerpts] [Gotsiridze] Last Monday, on 2 September, at 1800 in on Rustaveli Square in Tbilisi, an event took place that shook the whole of Georgia.... [passage omitted] Zviad Gamsakhurdia used armed forces against his own people. The news media spread this information to all countries of the world. Georgians rising against Georgians—isn't this a tragedy?.... [passage omitted] I personally witnessed the events. Shaken by what I saw, I decided to meet with the president that evening and ask him the only question: What does all this mean?.... [passage omitted].

The conversation took place the next morning. Please come, he said over the telephone after I asked him to grant me an audience, but on what matter? On what happened yesterday on Rustaveli square.... [passage omitted].

Thank you for receiving me in such a tense situation, I said, taking a seat. I noticed a certain anxiety in his eyes.

[Gotsiridze] I am disturbing you because I want to learn about your position with regard to yesterday's events that [words indistinct] have disturbed our people.

[Gamsakhurdia] As you know, a quite unpleasant event took place yesterday, a confrontation between the militia and demonstrators. However, I must point out that the guilty party is not the militia. In all democratic states, there exist rules for holding meetings. In no world capital, be it Washington, London, or Paris, would allow you to block the main streets. If the police meets with resistance, in order to restore public order, it resorts to force. Proceeding from this, it was undoubtedly unjustifiable, on the part of the participants in the meeting, to insult and attack the militia. Moreover, the attackers were armed.... [passage omitted] What caused the events? Simply, these people are driven by one goal—to destabilize Georgia and raise the question of my resignation. The point, however, is that resignation of the president elected by the people must be effected by the people themselves and not by a group of 600 people. Consequently, it was a deliberate provocation, timed to the arrival in Tbilisi of American congressmen and the congress of people's deputies taking place in Moscow. The organizers of this provocation are the forces striving to spread throughout the world rumors on an unstable situation that has allegedly developed in Georgia, as though democracy is suppressed here, with demonstrators engaging in confrontations with the police and even blood being shed. By this, they not only want to discredit the leadership of the republic, but to delay and complicate the international recognition of Georgia. This is the main goal. [sentence omitted] This is the armed opposition, mainly the members of the Mkhedrioni [illegal armed organization] and the armed group led by Chanturiya, but any armed aggression against the police is inadmissible in any country of the world. In any state, an armed attack against the police results in exactly such a reaction. [passage omitted]. However, I condemn the shooting by the police, even into the air. An investigation is under way and those to blame on both sides will have to answer before the law.

[Gotsiridze] I must point out that my impression was that certain details of the information that you have received on this [word indistinct] incident are not quite accurate. The point is that I myself was a witness to the confrontation [passage omitted].

[Gamsakhurdia] Quite right, this is a misfortune.

[Gotsiridze] Proceeding from this, I would like to ask the following question: Did they hold a political meeting?

[Gamsakhurdia] Yes, this is a fact, but we must know that no meeting, including those of a political nature, that blocks central arteries is permissible. Such are the rules throughout the world. Why should the law be violated in our country?

[Gotsiridze] Your position and your demands are absolutely justified, but in order that they be fulfilled, it is necessary to observe the law in everything [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

[Gamsakhurdia] The thing is that the former government was an usurper, an enemy, and a conqueror of Georgia. We have been elected by the Georgian people on voluntary principles. That is why violations of the current laws are violations of laws issued by a legitimate government.

[Gotsiridze] Yesterday, the leader of the meeting, Georgiy Chanturiya, voiced a demand that consisted, if I am not mistaken, of (?14) points. One of the main ones is for the government's resignation as a government composed of incompetent personalities. What would yoy say to this?

[Gamsakhurdia] Before answering, I want to ask you another question. What is your personal opinion about Chanturiya's competence? Does he possess the knowledge and experience to raise questions about the competence of others?

[Gotsiridze] Perhaps, you know Mr. Chanturiya better than I, but I have my own opinion about him. I know about his activities, and I have met him several times and talked with him. If you ask, I must answer sincerely: I do not consider him to be a political figure that could be unconditionally handed the fate of our unfortunate

motherland, especially in such difficult times. Unfortunately, Georgia is experiencing a shortage of brilliant personalities. Competence is a commodity in short supply.

[Gamsakhurdia] I agree with you. For precisely this reason Tengiz Sigua was released from his post as chairman of the government. He was not suited to such a responsible post and did not cope with his duties. We are trying to rid ourselves of incompetent figures. However, I must say that to find competent cadres [words indistinct]. During the period of the communist regime, people degenerated and professionalism was falsified. I feel a great shortage of competent people. This one of the most acute problems that we are facing. We must resolve it in the near future and at a modern level. It is not easy to find a person who would be a professional and, at the same time, be selfish and decent. We have cadres that were left for us by the communist regime and we have no others. We have been in power for nine months and are making maximum efforts to find cadres. It is true that incompetent people hold various posts. We know about this and it is our main concern. We will certainly replace them. However, for this, we do not need Chanturiya's advice.

[Gotsiridze] What the communist regime has done to mankind is known to all. Therefore, your concern with regard to this, just like the concern of the opposition, is quite understandable. I would like to point out that public reaction was quite favorable in regard to the replacement of some incompetent officials, those that had once been nominated by you. I understand that the search for the necessary cadres is under way, but let me disagree with the statement that it is difficult to find honest and competent professionals in Georgia. Some people may even perceive this as a personal insult. Like yourself, I am a Georgian intellectual and I know that there are enough people capable of being useful to their motherland.

[Gamsakhurdia] Of course, they exist, and God forbid that such people should become extinct in Georgia, but they must be found. You know, a decent woman is shy and modest, whereas a promiscuous woman is shameless and unabashed. This is also the case of decent and competent people. They are modest and don't like to show themselves off. That is why it is necessary to find them and nominate them to appropriate positions. Incompetent and corrupt people, however, blatantly try to advertise themselves and press for positions.

[Gotsiridze] [passage omitted] Therefore, not only is our press justified, but is obliged to publish various alternative opinions of the representatives of all levels of our society.

[Gamsakhurdia] Of course. Our press is completely independent, but our enemies describe an entirely different picture. Tell me, does the Georgian press publish criticism of me? It certainly does. It is true that this criticism is quite weak, but what can be done? A low professional level of Georgian journalism is to blame here.

[Gotsiridze] There is, however, evidence of restrictions on freedom of expression and the press in Georgia. I will quote an example. As a matter of fact, it involves me, but this is not a question on my behalf.

[passage omitted]

[Gotsiridze] With your permission, I will return to yesterday's events. Since 9 April, there has not been a misfortune in Georgia to compare with the one that took place yesterday. From my point of view, this event must be seriously considered by all of our people.

[Gamsakhurdia] Quite right, a great misfortune took place.

[Gotsiridze] Georgians rose against Georgians. No policy can justify this. The goal of our policy is to unite the nation into a single fist. It seems to me that the holding of such actions is often an end in itself. I recently met and had a long conversation with Georgiy Chanturiya. I was amazed by his remarks. He believes that they are not a conventional opposition. This is quite sad. In my opinion, the main goal of a conventional opposition is not to overthrow the existing power but the establishment of one's own group's superiority by way of offering alternative and constructive programs.

[Gamsakhurdia] I agree with you. No democratic government will tolerate armed opposition. There are peaceful meetings and peaceful actions, and there are aggressive ones. Our actions in April 1989 were victorious as a result of the fact that we never lost [words indistinct] and, moreover, did not shoot. Now, these people even threaten barricades and a civil war. Why?

[Gotsiridze] One can envy the people in the Baltics. [passage omitted]. However, in Georgia, after the declaration of independence, the people became as though even more [word indistinct]. Hatred and nervousness reign everywhere, the number of criminal acts has increased. What, in your opinion, is the reason?

[Gamsakhurdia] Our national tragedy is the fact that we have many traitors. In earlier times, too, they opposed their motherland's independence and development. [passage omitted].

[Gotsiridze] I would also like to ask another question. The leadership of the Georgian Communist Party supported the putsch perpetrated in Moscow. As a result, some people were arrested. A journalist, the editor of the newspaper TSKHOVREBA, was also arrested. He was obliged to publish the resolution of his authorities—the Bureau. As a journalist, I consider this arrest to be illegal. What do you say?

[Gamsakhurdia] I agree with you.

On the same evening, by the order of the procurator of the Republic, Ioseliani, editor of the newspaper TSKHOVREBA, was released.

Reportage on Civil Unrest, Government Responses

State of Emergency Possible

AU1109125991 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 10 Sep 91 p 3

[Telephone interview with Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia by Szerdahelyi; on 9 September: "Will the Georgian President Introduce a State of Emergency?"]

[Text] How many more days will Zviad Gamsakhurdia remain president of Georgia? This question is justified because serious opposition demonstrations have been taking place in Tbilisi for more than a week, and an increasing number of people are demanding Gamsakhurdia's resignation. Some people even accuse the Georgian leaders of participating in the preparations of the Moscow coup.

Following long persuasion by his adviser, Zviad Gamsakhurdia gave an exclusive telephone interview to NEPSZAVA to refute all these allegations.

[Szerdahelyi] How serious do you think these opposition demonstrations are?

[Gamsakhurdia] We should not underestimate these demonstrations, even if they do not really threaten me or our parliament. We were elected in a constitutional way by the Georgian people, and we are responsible to them, rather than to the communist forces directing things from the underground.

[Szerdahelyi] Do you think that communists are behind these disturbances?

[Gamsakhurdia] Both communists and right-wing neonazi organizations that are inciting extremist and nationalist feelings are behind all this. However, I would not draw a parallel between the two because, in my view, the former are only enemies, but the latter are dangerous enemies. These right-wing organizations are now demanding my resignation and new elections, but nothing will come out of this!

[Szerdahelyi] Does this mean that Moscow has no role in all this?

[Gamsakhurdia] Moscow's involvement is limited to the fact that the conservative communists have not yet lost ground completely. In view of the current circumstances, it is completely unpredictable whether democracy or a new type of Russian nationalism will prevail.

[Szerdahelyi] This uncertainty could have been behind the Georgian leaders' alleged support for the recent coup and even participation in preparing this coup, as the opposition claims.

[Gamsakhurdia] These are odious lies! You cannot come up with the name of a single Georgian who supported the coup. Nor can those who are spreading such accusations come up with any name, because they are sowing panic by hiding underground like rats.

[Szerdahelyi] What was your personal opinion about the coup?

[Gamsakhurdia] I regarded it as extremely dangerous, because the dictatorship of party apparatchiks and generals could have strongly hindered Georgia's freedom and its final separation from the Soviet Union. This continues to be our firm goal! Some people want to violate these interests and therefore they are now organizing themselves again in South Ossetia. But the Georgian people will not allow them to upset the order and the Georgian people do not believe the schemers. The Georgian people will also understand it if we have to temporarily introduce a state of emergency.

[Szerdahelyi] Do you have any such plans?

[Gamsakhurdia] Yes, as a final solution.

[Szerdahelyi] You called Shevardnadze a conspirator, and you do not have a good opinion about Gorbachev and Yeltsin. Do you not think that you will isolate Georgia completely?

[Gamsakhurdia] I have not changed my opinion about any of these people. Shevardnadze served a moribund power against the Georgian people, a power that Gorbachev wanted to keep by all means. Unfortunately, Yeltsin has also failed to fulfill his earlier promise to us. However, I am not afraid of becoming isolated. According to a Georgian proverb, it is better to fight alone than hope for help from false friends. We stick to this. For decades, we were isolated within a dictatorial alliance; nevertheless, Georgia remained the most national republic. At long last, we will now be able to show what we are able to do in freedom.

Gamsakhurdia Retains Force Option

LD1109205991 Moscow TASS in English 2047 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Albert Kochetkov report]

[Text] Tbilisi September 11 TASS—According to the Georgian president's statement at a meeting with foreign correspondents, he does not rule out the use of force against the Georgian opposition demanding his resignation.

Asked whether the president will use strict measures against the opposition, Zviad Gamsakhurdia said: "what would governments of your countries do in response to the illegal seizure of downtown buildings, blocking of the traffic and destabilization of the situation?" says an official report of the Georgian Sakinform governmental agency.

'Thousands' Assemble; Leaders Comment

AU1109134791 Paris AFP in English 1321 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Sylvie Lanteaume report]

[Text] Tbilisi, Georgia, Sept 11 (AFP) — Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia seemed very much alone Wednesday [11 September] facing an opposition growing increasingly virulent, but still divided.

The centre of the Georgian capital, Tbilisi, was blocked by thousands of demonstrators divided into four groups occupying the length of the city's Rustaveli Avenue. In front of parliament and government headquarters, as many as 3,000 Gamsakhurdia supporters have set up camp, while just 20 metres away, three opposition groups are gathered to demand the president's resignation.

Some 100 monarchists have set up tents near supporters of National Democratic party president Gia Chanturia, while at the end of the street, resting on camp beds before the Marxism-Leninism Institute, are supporters of Irakli Tsereteli, the young National Independence Party leader.

A less than impressive makeshift barrier made from pieces of wood and concrete reinforcing bars blocks off the end of the avenue.

"It is there to symbolically express our battle for liberty and democracy," explain supporters of Chanturia and Tsereteli, two members of the National Congress which groups several nationalist organizations that refused to participate in the last elections.

The protesters have been camping in front of their headquarters for a week, while each night as many as 15,000 demonstrators gather.

Tuesday night, for the first time Georgian intellectuals joined the protest movement, adding their voices to demands for the resignation of the president elected only last May by an overwhelming majority.

But the parliamentary opposition, led by unsuccessful presidential candidate Nodar Natadze, remains on the sidelines.

The demonstrators are strongly critical of Gamskhurdia's decision to use Georgian Interior Ministry special units to disperse their first demonstration September 2 protesting his alleged support for the attempted coup in Moscow.

Four people were injured in that protest, according to official figures.

"During the putsch, Georgian newspapers and television, which are strictly controlled by the president, published decrees issued by the state of emergency State Committee, Chanturia said at his headquarters on Rustaveli Avenue.

Chanturia, once a close personal friend of Gamsakhurdia, decried the authoritarian methods of the Georgian president who recently declared: "Independence first, democracy after."

"It is a democratic revolution," Chanturia said. "What happened a month ago in Moscow is happening again here. We want Gamsakhurdia to go away, but we don't want to use anything but constitutional means."

"If we could express ourselves in the local press or on television, we wouldn't need all these meetings, but it is our only way to inform the public," said Teimuraz Sumbalashvili, a Tsereteli supporter.

The opposition camp is optimistic that it can convince the president to resign within the next few days, but Gamsakhurdia still has extensive powers at his disposal granted to him by parliament in April.

According to amendments to the republic's consitution adopted unanimously by parliament, the president cannot be forced to resign unless three-quarters of the deputies approve, and only in the case of a "crime against the State."

The president meanwhile has declared his political opponents "enemies of the State," but it is possible he will lose parliamentary support in the next session. It is the president who convokes parliament, and the session scheduled to begin Tuesday had to be postponed indefinitely.

Wednesday night another demonstration has been called for Rustaveli Avenue by the National Congress.

Parliament Fails To Meet

LD1109133691 Moscow TASS in English 1250 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Albert Kochetkov report]

[Text] Tbilisi September 11 TASS—Wednesday morning was quiet in Tbilisi, capital of Georgia. Yesterday's rumours about one of the conflicting sides planning armed action in the night had fortunately proved groundless, but fears persist that an ill- considered action or, still worse, an act of provocation may touch off a storm.

Despite the acute political crisis in Georgia, the parliament failed to meet on Tuesday as expected. President Zviad Gamsakhurdia continues to decline any proposal for dialogue with the opposition.

The president keeps referring to the opposition as "a group of political adventure-seekers," whose actions are instigated by Eduard Shevardnadze, the new Soviet television chief Yegor Yakovlev and other "Kremlin agents" and "enemies of Georgia".

The radical opposition, seeking to topple the president and dismiss the Supreme Soviet, has ordered barricades to be erected in central Tbilisi and holds rallies every

day. Speakers at rallies have called for the release of all political prisoners in Georgia and removing the ruling roundtable bloc's political dictate to mass media.

Centrist movements, including the Popular Front, the political bloc Svoboda (Liberty), the Liberal Democratic and Republican Parties, have issued a statement charging the Georgian leadership with lack of competence.

Along with this the statement stresses that despite full discreditation of legality in the republic, the democratic movements will build their activity within the framework of the Georgian constitution.

On Tbilisi outskirts, national guard units continue to concentrate, which have refused to obey the president. They retain the right to intervene if Gamsakhurdia decides to use force against the opposition.

'Confrontation' With Guard Ruled Out

LD1109180491 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 11 Sep 91

[N. Gongadze video report from Georgia; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] For over a week now the city [Tbilisi] has been living an unusual life. After the incident with members of the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment], the opposition forces are continuing their protest actions. Representatives of the Georgian intelligentsia and all those to whom the ideals of freedom and democracy are precious came to a mass meeting organized by the Party of National Independence. They called on those confronting each other to enter into a dialogue and to search for a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

After having been cut off for one day, broadcasts of the news programs of Central and Russian Television resumed—something that has undoubtedly also been assisted by the resolution adopted by staff members of Georgia's State Television and Radio Department, who demanded complete freedom in covering events taking place. The question of the paper shortage has also been resolved. All closed periodical publications will in the next few days again be delivered to subscribers.

Individual units of the National Guard—headed by its former commander in chief, Tengiz Kitovani—are as before not obeying the president's order to return to their barracks. [video shows mass meeting in Tbilisi, inside of a TV station, National Guardsmen marching in wooded area]

Rumors are circulating that members of your union—approximately 8,000 Afghans veterans—may enter into a confrontation with the Guard opposition.

[Georgian Defense Minister Giorgadze] This has been absolutely excluded. The Army, as they say, must be peaceful. It must defend its people and the integrity of the republic's territory. Our present-day government and the republic's president are looking for all possible ways of peacefully settling and resolving the question of the guardsmen. I am on the whole confident that this question will be resolved positively. There simply is no other way out. [video shows Gongadze interviewing Georgian defense minister in a garden]

Heavy Fire in South Ossetian Rayons

LD1109225491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1255 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Valeriy Shanayev report]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 11 Sep—Last night Georgian combatants once again directed intensive fire at a number of towns and settlements in the Znaurskiy and Tskhinvalskiy rayons of South Ossetia. Firing came from heavy machine guns, rocket launchers, and grenades. Some of the civilian population were severely injured.

As has already been reported, Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has extended the state of emergency in the town of Tskhinvali and in the Dzhavskiy rayon for another month. However, the inhabitants of South Ossetia are demanding its introduction across the whole territory of this autonomous oblast, with the hope that this compulsory measure might help to lessen the likely escalation of armed clashes.

According to operational information from the South Ossetian public-political organization "Rukhs" ("Light"), Tskhinvali to all intents and purposes once again finds itself tightly encircled by an economic blockade. Supplies of electricity, water, and gas to the town face interruptions, the shortage of foodstuffs, medicines, and fuel is acute, and telephone and telegraph connections have been destroyed. The town's railway station has not been working for six months.

Armed combatants from Tbilisi and other rayons of Georgia are in control of all the approach roads, along which humanitarian aid reaches Tskhinvali from Vladikavkaz. The tactic of seizing hostages is becoming more widespread. The fate of 34 citizens of Ossetian nationality seized by combatants on the Znauri-Tskhinvali road—including children—is still unknown.

Many inhabitants of Tskhinvali and other rayons of South Ossetia have been forced to leave their homes fearing for their lives. According to unofficial information, in Vladikavkaz alone there are even now some 100,000 refugees.

'Serious Political Crisis' Persists

LD1209091291 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] A serious political crisis persists in the Republic of Georgia. The radical opposition organised a mass rally in the republic's capital Tbilisi on Wednesday night. Speaking at the rally many prominent intellectuals

demanded a sharp restriction of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's powers, the release of political prisoners and creating conditions for the normal functioning of opposition political parties.

The construction of barricades in the city continued. National Guard units that have refused to obey the president have massed on the approaches to Tbilisi.

Tsereteli on Political Situation

PM1109135391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1,4

[A. Semenyaka report "From the Hotbeds" under the general heading "There Is No Peace Under the Olives": "Georgia"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 10 Sep—Rustaveli Avenue in Tbilisi now resembles an agitated anthill. The Georgian Republic Supreme Soviet building has been blockaded by buses and local militia detachments.

Travel by car has been stopped. There is a political sit-in going on in three places—at the Government House, the building of the former Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and the monument to Ilya Chavchavadze. All these events are connected with 2 September, when a rally held by representatives of three Georgian parties—the National Independence Party, the National Democratic Party, and the monarchist (conservative) party—was dispersed by the Georgian OMON [special purpose militia detachment]. Incidentally, there are around 300 different parties, movements, unions, and trends in the republic...

We had a conversation with Irakliy Tsereteli, leader of the Georgian National Independence Party, about the current political situation in the republic and predictions concerning it.

[Semenyaka] The republic mass media reported that representatives of your party are on hunger strike...

[Tsereteli] No, we are holding a peaceful political sit-in. Its aim is to condemn the actions of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia in using the republic OMON to disperse a peaceful demonstration.

[Semenyaka] What tasks face your party?

[Tsereteli] As before, our party is fighting for Georgia to leave the USSR, for the withdrawal of Soviet Army units, and also for the inclusion of the republic in NATO. As for our internal tasks, then in the economic sphere here we envisage the introduction of private ownership and the privatization of all state property.

[Semenyaka] The Georgian president and his team have repeatedly called you an agent of the Kremlin and a political failure...

[Tsereteli] Fortunately the majority of the Georgian population no longer believes fanatically in its president. Many parties, organizations, and social movements do not agree with the Georgian president's current policy.

Moscow TV Returns; Papers Not Printed

PM1109195791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[B. Urigashvili report: "Georgia Is In Turmoil, Parliament Is Silent"]

[Excerpt] Tbilisi—[Passage omitted] Yesterday it was possible once again to watch Central and Russian Television news bulletins in Georgia. For the first time the Georgian Television news program showed an item in which not only opinions in support of the authorities were expressed. However, IZVESTIYA, TRUD, and NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA were not printed or distributed today. I was told at the "Samshoblo" publishing house that the newspapers were not printed "on the initiative of the workers themselves as a sign of protest against slander and disinformation." KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has not been published in Georgia for more than two weeks. [passage omitted]

Gamsakhurdia on Opposition

OW1209040091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian President Zviyad Gamsakhurdia observed during a meeting with journalists on Tuesday that "Fortunately, the opposition is only a small group of people, and by no means the entire Georgian nation." He said the Georgians had expressed their will by unanimously electing their present administration and by supporting their lawful leaders at rallies outside the parliament building.

Mr. Gamsakhurdia declined to say directly whether or not he would take tough measures against the opposition, and invited journalists to say how they would react to the illegal seizure of buildings in Tbilisi's center, the traffic blockade, and the destabiliation of the situation.

According to the Georgian leader, the recent deterioration of the situation should be blamed on the group of people doing their best to discredit the lawful Georgian Government.

Report on 9 Aug Supreme Council Session

AU1109172591 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 10 Aug 91 p 1

[Report by SAKINFORM parliamentary correspondents Paata Tsintsadze and Tengiz Grigalashvili on Georgian Supreme Council session held in Tbilisi on 9 August]

[Text] A routine meeting of the first session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council of the first convocation, opening on 9 August, began in a slightly

unusual manner. At the suggestion of Supreme Council Chairman Akakiy Asatiani, deputies added two extra items to the agenda, one of which was actually the continuation of a discussion that began at the session's previous meeting regarding a statement by a group of deputies belonging to the Merab Kostava Society who demanded the resignation of the Supreme Council Chairman. The members of parliament supported Mr. Akakiy Asatiani's view that this matter be discussed first.

The Supreme Council Chairman again read out the statement by the group of deputies and elucidated each point, at the same time giving his fundamental views on questions such as the rights and powers of the republic's supreme legislative body and its organs in the sphere of selection and deployment of cadres in the republic. He reminded deputies that the functions of the Supreme Council do not include being in charge of and monitoring the executive bodies, but that it is a lawmaking body, which in itself means that it performs exceptionally complex and difficult work. Further to this, Mr. Akakiy Asatiani stressed that if he had called on deputies in the "Round Table—Free Georgia" bloc to do anything at all, it was solely to remain disciplined and cohesive—not only in fulfilling their official duties, but also in upholding the standpoints of their own political bloc.

After this, in accordance with the republic's Constitution, the Supreme Council Chairman proposed deciding on the need to hold a secret ballot on his resignation. As a reminder, for a secret ballot to be held, one fifth of the deputies have to be in favor (the above statement was signed by only 14 deputies). However, the absolute majority of the Supreme Council members rejected the proposal to hold a secret ballot.

On the other additional item—the work of the permanent commissions—a speech was delivered by Republic of Georgia President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. He recommended that the Supreme Council merge two of its permanent commissions: the Commission on Defense, National Security, and Law and Order; and the Commission on Legislation and Upholding the Law. This recommendation was based on the fact that the two commissions were duplicating each other, and moreover they should be staffed by highly qualified specialists.

Opinions were divided over the President's recommendation, and there was a fairly heated debate. Finally, the session decided to merge the two commissions into one—the Permanent Legal Commission of the Supreme Council—and to elect prominent lawyer Levan Aleksidze as its chairman.

The next item on the agenda was discussion of the draft Supreme Council resolution on the Republic of Georgia's 1991 emergency state budget. A speech was delivered on this item by Guram Absanidze, deputy chairman of the republican Government and minister of economy and finance. Naturally, the deputies showed particular interest in this issue, for the country's future obviously depends on the state of its budget. Georgia's budget is giving rise to serious alarm, since it is common knowledge how big the budget deficit was at the end of the first six months of the year—over four billion rubles. However, Absanidze reported, over the past few weeks, thanks to the efforts of the republican Government, this deficit had been reduced by more than half.

Nevertheless, the question was discussed long and hard. The most varied ways of emerging from the difficult situation were put forward. Economists among the deputies virtually analyzed all the finer points, and only then was a corresponding resolution passed.

Privatization. It is no exaggeration to say that this foreign word is now the most popular one, not only in Georgia, but in all the countries of the former socialist camp. Now the supreme legislative body of Georgia was about to pass a law on privatizating state enterprises. It will be recalled that this law had already been discussed at the previous meeting of the session and was approved on its first reading. This time, the law was to be finally enacted. That is why the deputies discussed every clause and every paragraph so painstakingly. Deputy Mayya Machavariani, for example, while basically approving the idea of privatization, pointed out at the same time that the bill paid too much attention to supervision and inspection during the process of privatization. Deputy Roman Gotsiridze pointed to the need to create special ministerial bodies which would in practice resolve questions of privatizing enterprises. All in all, there was a multitude of opinions and proposals. It was after they were put together that the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council passed a resolution to enact the Law on the Privatization of State Enterprises on 1 October 1991.

The session continues on 10 August.

Government Lists Export Restrictions for Goods

AU1109111691 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 5 Sep 91 p 1

[SAKINFORM report: "In the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Georgia"]

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Georgia has adopted a decision on provisional emergency measures for regulating exports of certain types of raw materials, foodstuffs, and manufactured goods.

A list of products has been ratified the export of which has been prohibited as from 5 September 1991 and until 1 January 1992. This list includes the following products: milk, dairy products, livestock, poultry, silkworm cocoons, wool, vegetable preserves, potatoes, onions, grain, cereals, rice, soda ash, flour, pasta, vegetable oil, sugar, fish, fish products, cement, all kinds of bricks, tiles, small wall-building blocks, lime, gypsum, timber (logs, various wood materials, pressed slabs, and parquet), basalt, marble, and tuff blocks, leather, and petroleum products.

It has been decided that in special cases, on the submission of interested ministries, departments, institutions, and organizations, questions of exporting the listed products will be dealt with by the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Georgia.

A government commission created by the Republic of Georgia decree of 16 August 1991 "On Banning the Export From Georgia of Certain Types of Raw Materials, Foodstuffs, and Manufactured Goods," with the participation of interested ministries, departments, institutions, and organizations was authorized to elaborate and submit to the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Georgia the following documents: By 15 September 1991, a list of those particularly important products whose export from the republic was permitted until the end of 1991, complete with provisional rules of their export; by 1 December 1991, regulations on export restrictions and licensing of exports from the Republic of Georgia, starting from 1 January 1991.

Deputy Prime Minister Cited on Economic Union

PM1109125591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 2

[Report from roundup of TASS and INTERFAX reports under general heading: "In Brief"]

[Text] Georgian Deputy Prime Minister Bakur Gulua has stated that Georgia's possible entry into an economic union with the former union republics "in no way infringes on its political sovereignty."

Armenia

Resolution on Union Participation Adopted

NC1109202591 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Report by Gevorg Nazaryan and Mesrop Saakyan from the Armenian Supreme Soviet session in Yerevan on 11 September—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified reporter] Today, for the third day running, the parliament discussed the political situation prevailing in the Soviet Union and in the republic. The debate proceeded in an atmosphere of heated argument characterized by extremely opposing and uncompromising views, and sometimes open intolerance.

The USSR Supreme Soviet deputies Genrikh Igityan and Telman Gdlyan also spoke at the session. Gdlyan drew the deputies' attention to the fact that times have changed and the center no longer exists in its original sense. He said that he and many others had fought against that center, and, now that the democratic forces have attained victory in many of the republics, there should be cooperation with them. These forces should serve the people and should avoid intentional political infighting. Telman Gdlyan warned: Winter is just around the corner.

The morning session was recessed after the three-point draft decision was presented, which was before the scheduled time. The deputies had put forward 17 additional proposals and demanded that these also be examined [passage omitted]

What did the text of this three-point draft decision say? The draft decision was presented to the Supreme Soviet by Gagik Arutyunyan, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

[Arutyunyan] The draft decision has been distributed to you and you will notice that there has been a minor change in the first sentence. Here is the draft decision:

The Decision of the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet on the Political Situation Prevailing in the USSR and in the Republic:

Having examined the new political situation that has emerged in the USSR,

Confirming its allegiance to the process of the establishment of an independent statehood,

The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet decides:

1. To examine the question of the Armenian Republic's participation, and the form of this participation, in the interrepublican structures after deciding on the political status of the Armenian Republic on the basis of the results of the 21 September referendum.

2. To instruct the Armenian Republic Council of Ministers and the Supreme Soviet's standing commissions to prepare proposals concerning the establishment of interrepublican economic ties.

3. To empower the chairman of the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet to participate in the upcoming sessions of the USSR State Council and to consult with the leaders of the republics on the forms of cooperation the republics can implement at the level of interrepublican organs and administrative bodies.

[Unidentified reporter] After views were exchanged, this decision was accepted as the basic draft. It was endorsed by the parliament in its entirety after certain modifications and corrections were made.

Babken Araraktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, chaired the evening session and announced that the document was finally adopted following three days of heated argument.

Ara Saakyan, secretary of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, then delivered a report on the activities of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium during the 2 August-9 September period.

Supreme Soviet Chairman on Establishing Order

LD1209044191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ter-Petrosyan has expressed confidence that constitutional order will soon be established in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. Speaking before deputies in the Armenian parliament, Ter-Petrosyan said that local authorities and the militia in the NKAO will soon get the oblast under their control and OMON units of Azerbaijan's Ministry of Internal Affairs will be withdrawn from its territory.

In Ter-Petrosyan's words, the presidents of the USSR, Russian Federation, and Kazakhstan—Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and Nazarbayev—have expressed their readiness to act as intermediaries and to put an end to the armed clashes in the NKAO.

No Confidence Voiced in Supreme Soviet

PM1109111191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 2

[Report from TASS-INTERFAX roundup under general heading: "In Brief"]

[Text] The "Constitutional Law" sociopolitical organization has expressed no confidence in the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman. "Constitutional Law" leader Grant Khachatryan stated this at a parliament sitting.

Leader Rejects Criticism of Actions During Coup

LD1109152891 Moscow TASS in English 1339 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Tigran Liloyan report]

[Text] Yerevan September 11 TASS—Levon Ter-Petrosyan, president of the Armenian Supreme Council, rejected accusations of some parliamentarians regarding the attitude of the republican authorities during the August putsch.

Addressing the session of the Armenian parliament on Tuesday evening, he said that all the documents issued during the putsch resulted from joint work of the Armenian leadership and were aimed at preserving calm and stability in the republic.

While peoples and regions in the country are threatened with violence, arrests and restriction of democracy as a result of the putsch, the Armenian people were doomed to genocide, said Levon Ter- Petrosyan, meaning possible armed actions of the junta in Armenian districts borderning on Azerbaijan and in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The president of the Armenian Supreme Council declared against the attempts to play down the importance of the forthcoming referendum on the republic's independence as the sole legal basis for Armenia's independence.

Even if Armenia fails to achieve recognition by the world community in the next 10 to 20 years, it will still happen sooner or later due to the referendum of September 21, Ter-Petrosyan emphasized.

No matter what attitudes of members of the Armenian parliament, it would be a huge mistake not to participate in the activity of the new inter-republican structures, he said. The Armenian leader said he would use all his influence to persuade the parliament to vote in favour of this participation.

Ex-CPSU's Arutyunyan Seeks Presidency

OW1209042691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Suren Arutyunyan, ex-leader of the Armenian Communist party and currently Soviet consul in Casablanca, intends to join in the race for the Armenian presidency. As IF's [INTERFAX] reporter has learnt at the republic's Central Electoral Commissic , members of Mr. Arutyunyan's support teas received forms for the collection of signatures.

Under Armenia's law on presidential elections, no less than 500 signatures have to be collected for a person's nomination as a candidate for President of Armenia, and no less than 15,000 signatures for his or her name to be included in the ballot papers.

At present, there are 11 candidates for the top post in the Armenian Republic. Among them are the Supreme Soviet head Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the Prime Minister Vazgen Manukyan, the prominent cultural personality Sos Sarkisyan, the parliamentarian Zoriy Balayan, the Republican Party leader Ashot Navasardyan, and the leader of the "National Self-Determination" Association Paruir Ayrikyan.

Communist Party Officially Ends Operations

NC1109154291 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Yerevan, 11 Sep (ARMENPRES)—The last stage of the final congress of the Armenian Communist Party has concluded in Yerevan, during which the congress decided to terminate the operations of the Armenian Communist Party. First Secretary Sargsyan formed a group to establish a new democratic party, while those supporting Badalyan, the secretary of the Yerevan city party committee, intend to set up another communist party.

Federation Calls For 'Yes' Vote in Referendum

NC1209053091 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Reprint of HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN report: "ARF is Joining the Seven Parties' Appeal"]

[Text] Yerevan, 11 Sep (ARMENPRES)—Our paper has already published the appeal the seven sociopolitical parties in Armenia made to the people regarding the 21 September referendum.

The Central Committee of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation [ARF] has come forward with a similar call, which states:

Compatriots: All of us will have to make a decisive choice on 21 September. Do we want to live independently? Do we want to be free? Do we want to determine our own destiny? The ARF is sure the Armenian people's reply will be an unequivocal yes.

We do not doubt for a moment that, with this lofty choice, we will be taking a new step toward realizing our national aspirations and ensuring happiness for every Armenian. (?Casting) the yes ballot would be giving a gift to our fatherland. Let us fulfill our duty. Let us confirm our (?resolve) for freedom.

Report on 10 Sep Session of Supreme Soviet

NC1209053491 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Yerevan, 11 Sep (ARMENPRES)—On 10 September, the Armenian Supreme Soviet continued debating "the situation prevailing in the USSR and in the republic."

Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, spoke at the morning session, which was chaired by Gagik Arutyunyan, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

Manukyan expressed his position on the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium's policy regarding the latest developments in the USSR. He emphasized the need for ensuring national unity to solve the complex and difficult problems facing the nation.

The prime minister and other parliamentarians once again gave fiercely emotional speeches assessing how compatible the Supreme Soviet Presidium's actions over the past few days have been with the political course charted by the Supreme Soviet. Almost every speaker referred to Nagorno-Karabakh and advanced his own proposal for solving this problem. They all stressed the enormous importance the 21 September referendum has for our people.

Babken Ararktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, presided over the evening session and gave the floor to Levon Ter-Petrosyan so he could make the concluding statement. He summed up the results of the past two days of debate and clarified the considerations behind the position adopted by the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet during the coup d'etat. He noted that this position was based completely on the people's interests and that it enabled Armenia to extricate itself from a critical situation without sustaining losses for the first time during the past three and half years. That critical situation could have been fatal for our people.

Ambardzum Galstyan, chairman of the Yerevan city soviet; Ashot Manucharyan, acting minister of interior; and Usik Arutyunyan, chairman of the Committee for State Security, answered deputies' questions at the end of the evening session.

Visiting U.S. Delegation Meets Ter-Petrosyan

NC1209053191 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, received an official delegation from the United States on 8 September.

Ter-Petrosyan greeted his guests, expressing his satisfaction at their visit to Armenia and noting that this visit confirms the interest political circles in the United States are taking in our republic.

At the guests' request, Ter-Petrosyan gave a detailed account of the economic and political steps the republic plans to take after the 21 September referendum on independence and also explained the Armenian authorities' official position regarding the options for solving the Nagorno-Karabakh problem.

Congressman Steny Hoyer, the leader of the delegation, and other speakers expressed their appreciation for the reception and the detailed information and highly praised Armenia's plans to establish an independent state using constitutional means. They assured that they would do everything possible to bring about a speedy recognition of our republic by the United States and the European countries.

The U.S. delegation also met with the leaders and representatives of the public and political organizations in the republic's Supreme Soviet.

Azerbaijan

Nakhichevan Parliament Protests Government Actions

LD1109141291 Moscow TASS in English 1304 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Vyacheslav Zenkovich report]

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Head of the Nakhichevan Parliament sent a telegram to TASS today, protesting against "anti- democratic actions by the Communist leadership of Azerbaijan" against "democratic processes in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic".

"The Communist leadership of Azerbaijan has recently launched an information and economic blockade of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic," the message says.

"A five-day special session of the Nakhichevan Parliament was not covered by Azerbaijani news organisations," it says.

Agreement To Combat Crime Along Border

NC1109132991 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic officials held a meeting in Sadarak Rayon with the representatives of Armenia's administrative organs aimed at maintaining peace in the border region and restoring security and tranquillity in the farming settlements and residential areas. The meeting was held as a result of an initiative made by the internal affairs ministry of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic.

Armenian Internal Affairs Minister Manucharyan and Mamed Mamedov, minister of internal affairs in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic and a people's deputy of Azerbaijan, agreed on the need to investigate crimes in the border area, and an operations and investigation group was established. The group is composed of the officials of the two republics.

The two ministers also agreed to implement a series of joint measures to prevent further crimes. The situation recently has been peaceful on the borders of the autonomous republic.

Defense Minister on Armed Forces Options

PM1109135991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "TURAN Report"]

[Text] Azerbaijan Defense Minister Lieutenant General Valeg Varshtaly said that if Soviet troops are withdrawn from Azerbaijan, the republic will encounter serious difficulties. "However," the general pointed out, "Azerbaijan will not be in danger. Work is already under way in conjunction with the local soviets and military commissariats to set up national self-defense forces."

TURAN reports that the minister noted that "if the national forces are recognized as an integral part of the Soviet Army, we will demand that the Soviet command provide our forces with military hardware."

Environmental 'Time Bomb' Ticking in Caspian Sea

OW1209061691 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Report by V. Dolgikh from the "Utro" program]

[Text] There have been many press reports that Azerbaijan specialists want to go to Kuwait to help elimate the pollution that resulted from the recent war. Well, one can understand the desire to earn foreign exchange; nevertheless, there is more than enough work for the Azerbaijan specialists at home. Here is our correspondent's report from Mangyshlak. [video shows flames on the surface of the sea, a ship, and a capsized derrick]

[Begin Dolgikh recording] This is Mys Peschanyy on the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea. Breakers on the surface of the sea caused by gas, near a sunken drilling rig, were noticed from a passenger aircraft. Following the pilot's report, a commission from the Oblast Committee on Ecology left immediately aboard its ship, the Saturn, to investigate. For a long time, this part of the sea has greatly worried Mangyshlak.

In 1983, because of gas pressure, the exploration rig SPBU [self-propelled floating drilling rig] 60-let Azerbadzhanu capsized here. Several people died at that time, and a flaming torch gushed at the site of the rig for a long time. Then it went out. [video shows the bridge of the vessel and specialists examining the site]

Now, after many years, the gas gusher has reappeared as a result of some kind of movement of underground strata. To burn the gas is not the best method, but, in this particular instance, the only method to stop poisoning the air and water with hydrogen sulphide. Still, something more must be done. But what, and how? The correspondence between ecologists from the city of Shevchenko and Baku Kasmorneftegasprom [Caspian Sea Petroleum and Gas Industry Administration], to whom the sunken drilling rig belongs, concerning the need to raise it from the sea bed has not yielded any results. The oilmen are prepared to pay any amount in fines just so that they do not have to touch it. This fear is understandable if one considers that the drilling rig's tanks, according to initial data, contain 180 tonnes of GSM [fuels and lubricants] and 40 tonnes of diesel fuel. Simply touch it, and that will be enough to poison the entire eastern coast of the Caspian Sea, which is still ecologically clean. The hope is that this time bomb will not detonate soon. Let the descendants defuse it.

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

Reporting on 'Extraordinary Incidents' Forbidden

LD1109204291 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] The Azerbaijan internal affairs minister has forbidden the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Internal Affairs Directorate to pass on reports on extraordinary incidents and grave crimes to the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry.

Azerbaijani-Armenian Clashes Reported

NC1209070191 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0200 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] The sound of gunfire is heard and blood is shed in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] nearly every day. The Armenian bandits respond to the measures to stabilize the situation with acts of terrorism. Ramiz Mamedov, Azerbaijan's first deputy minister of internal affairs, told AZERINFORM that the bandits from Armenia recently have intensified their terrorist activities. Ten Azerbaijanis and five Armenians were killed and 21 Azerbaijanis and six Armenians were wounded at the beginning of September. Armenian bandits fired on Khodzhaly city on 10 September. Two people were killed and several others wounded in this attack. An investigative body affiliated with the Azerbaijan Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs has arrived in the NKAO to obstruct the criminal activities.

Meanwhile, Kuliyev, chief of the Fizuli Rayon internal affairs department, has informed AZERINFORM that Akhikhli town, inhabited by Azerbaijanis, has been fired on from the direction of Agbulag and (?Evirly) towns in Gadrudskiy Rayon. The two towns are inhabited by Armenians.

Kazakhstan

MOSCOW NEWS Criticism Halts Oil Deal

PM1109151491 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 33, 18-25 Aug 91 p 2

[Mikhail Gurtovoy report: "Glasnost Saves Billions"]

[Text] President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan refused to sign a deal with the Chevron Oil company, which "Moscow News" took exception to.

MN issues 22 and 25 published criticisms of the deal which was about to be signed, aimed at developing the Tenghiz oil-and-gas deposit in Kazakhstan, the country's biggest. The main objections were the unprecedented advantages which the American side would get. As estimated by independent experts, Chevron could get upwards to 100 billion dollars in profit, while the Soviet side would get nothing like this.

Our newspaper accused Union government departments of being incompetent in their approach to the deal and cited facts to corroborate this. MN had to brave a storm of objections, and even direct threats. The author was not threatened with a court trial for libel, since none of his arguments have been refuted, but was threatened personally.

It seemed that the advocates of the deal had everything they could dream of money, power, connections, and demagogy. the deal was being lobbied from the right and from the left.

And yet it will not materialize, at any rate in its original shape. Public opinion has been stirred up, and our editorial office alone received more than 200 letters and telegrams demanding that "this piracy be brought to a halt". And quite recently the President of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, decided that the Union government departments were unconscientious in their approach to the deal. He mentioned a number of major differences with Chevron points, which MN also made. Nazarbeyev said that he was drafting a decree by which all the oil fields on Kazakhstan's territory would be declared the property of the Republic. All negotiations would henceforth be carried out solely with the government of Kazakhstan.

Decree To Form Space Research Agency

LD1209100691 Moscow TASS in English 0917 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Alma-Ata September 12 TASS—Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev has issued a decree to set up a local space research agency.

The move follows the decision to set up a Kazakh institute of space research.

The new agency will develop and implement space research programmes and coordinate the work of organisations and enterprises specialising in space. It plans to cooperate actively with foreign partners.

A joint Soviet-Austrian space flight has been scheduled for October 2. The crew includes flight engineer Tokhtar Aubakirov, who is an ethnic Kazakh. He will research ecological disaster zones in Kazakhstan from space.

Tajikistan

Parliament Adopts Amnesty Law 10 Sep

LD1209033791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1505 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 10 Sep (TASS)—In connection with the 9 September proclamation on the state independence by the Republic of Tajikistan, the Tajik parliament today adopted an amnesty law.

The amnesty applies to a wide range of persons sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. Included are men over 55 and women over 50, group 1 and 2 invalids, women with under-age children, pregnant women, and those who took part in the Great Fatherland War. The sentences of a particular category of detainees have been halved.

However, the amnesty does not apply to persons convicted of dangerous state crimes, violation of national and racial equality, gangsterism, premeditated murder, rape, taking and giving bribes, and persons regarded as particularly dangerous. Those sentenced for taking part in the massive disorders of February last year are eligible for amnesty on general principles.

Calls for Islamic Party Registration Worry Public

PM1109200591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[A. Karpov report: "Islamic Party Still Outside the Law"]

[Text] Dushanbe—Throughout the days of the Tajik parliament's extraordinary session a large rally was under way in the square in front of the republic Supreme Soviet building.

Its participants, supporters of the Democratic Party, the "Rastokhez" (Rebirth) People's Front, and the Islamic Rebirth Party which has not yet been registered—handed over a "weighty" list of demands to be considered by deputies. The parliament has met most of these demands. As reported earlier, the resignation of President K. Makhkamov was accepted, an independent Republic of Tajikistan was proclaimed, a law on nationwide elections of the head of government has come into force, and Tajik youths will henceforth do their military service at home.

The rally participants' demand that official permission be given for the Islamic Party to function has caused

special concern among the public. If this party obtains the right to legal existence, it would mean that it would have the right to present its candidate for the highest state post. What would be the political course of the republic leadership should this party win? How would this change the life of the population, what laws would it follow? These questions are currently worrying everyone in Tajikistan.

The rally in the square achieved the annulment by parliament of last year's parliamentary resolution banning the activity of the Islamic Party. The issue has been passed on to be decided by the Ministry of Justice. Does this mean that the deputies have bowed to the will of the mob, that they have given way to its pressure? I do not think so. The Ministry of Justice still does not have the right to register the Party of Islamic Rebirth since the law on freedom of conscience and religious organizations that is in force in the republic and has not been abolished by the Supreme Soviet clearly states: "The establishment and activities of parties of a religious nature and their organizational structures are not permitted in the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]."

Uzbekistan

BIRLIK Refuses To Cooperate With Authorities

OW1009173291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Abdurahim Pulatov, co-leader of the Uzbek popular movement BIRLIK, has told IF [INTERFAX] that his movement "will not agree to any kind of cooperation with the republic's authorities until the latter review their policy."

Ever since democratic rule was established in Russia, BIRLIK has been giving priority attention to the work for greater democracy in Uzbekistan, A. Pulatov said.

Among BIRLIK's followers he listed a wing of the Interfront, the Movement for Democratic Reform, and the recently registered party ERK (Freedom), but warned that BIRLIK and ERK may break apart in the near future. By giving ERK an official status the Uzbekistani authorities meant to drive a wedge into the democratic opposition and make the neighboring republics believe there is political pluralism in Uzbekistan, Mr. Pulatov said.

Turkestan Military District Appoints Uzbek

PM1109172191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 2

[Report from roundup of TASS and INTERFAX reports under general heading: "In Brief"]

[Text] For the first time in the history of the Turkestan military district by an order of the USSR defense minister an Uzbek—52-year-old Rumil Khadyrbayev—has been appointed deputy commander of the district.